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**HONEY, WAKE UP AND SMELL THE KY! STUDY ON CENSORSHIP OF SEXUAL
REFERENCES BASED ON FINNISH AND POLISH AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATIONS
OF *SEX AND THE CITY***

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Tiivistelmä – Abstract <p>The aim of this study is to examine the translation strategies of sexual references in Finnish and Polish audiovisual translations of American television series Sex and the City. This subject was chosen because it is an interesting and somewhat controversial topic, and yet it has not been studied as an independent subject in Finland. In order to shed light on cultural differences, Finnish TV and DVD subtitles will be compared with Polish audiovisual translations, i.e. DVD subtitles and TV voice-over, of the same series.</p> <p>The goal of the study is to find out whether sexual references and allusions are transferred to the audiovisual translations with or without purposeful ideological moderation. The first hypothesis is that the sexual content has not been consequently eliminated or reduced in the Finnish subtitles, and especially not in the DVD subtitles, because DVDs are targeted at a more limited viewership, and therefore there is no need to take precautions for the sake of possible child viewers. The second hypothesis of the study is that the Polish translations – especially the TV voice-over – will contain much less sexual references than the Finnish audiovisual translations, as Poland is considered more religious and conservative than Finland.</p> <p>The sexual references were first identified and transcribed from 16 episodes from the sixth season of Sex and the City, after which they were divided according to the following classification of semantic categories: 1. References to genitalia: 1a) male genitalia, 2a) female genitalia; 2. References to sexual activity: 2a) sexual intercourse, 2b) additional sexual practices; 3. References to sex and society: 3a) sex industry, 3b) extramarital sex and relationships, 3c) sexual health issues, 3d) other cases. The corresponding lines from the four translations were transcribed and categorised according to the used translation strategy. The classification used in the present study includes three strategies: direct translation, mitigated translation and intensified translation.</p> <p>The research material consists of 235 sexual references. The most popular translation strategy in all four translations is direct translation, second most popular is mitigation and the least popular is intensification, the use of which was marginal. The version with the highest number of direct translations is FI TV, whereas the smallest number is found in PL TV. At the same time, most mitigations are found in PL TV and the least in FI TV. The possible explanations for mitigations include self-censorship and/or external censorship, time and space constraints, avoidance of repetition, misunderstanding, linguistic differences, and inapt working conditions of audiovisual translators. Intensification was used scarcely, but it seems to be used to make sexual references more clear or explicit, or to emphasize the atmosphere of a scene or the feelings or attitude of a character.</p> <p>When it comes to semantic categories, the most populous categories in the research material are references to sexual intercourse and references to additional sexual practices, whereas the least numerous semantic groups are female genitalia and references to sexual health issues. Percentually, the two most mitigated and thus most taboo categories seem to be references to female genitalia and references to extramarital sex and relationships. The least taboo categories are sexual health issues and references to male genitalia.</p> <p>The collated results regarding the two countries confirm the first hypothesis, since Finnish translations contain more direct translations and less mitigated translations than Polish versions. This result is statistically highly significant. The results also confirm the second hypothesis: the collated results on the two media show that DVD versions contain more direct translations and less mitigations than TV versions, and the result is statistically significant. However, when looking at both countries separately, this hypothesis is confirmed in Poland, where the differences between media are considerably bigger than in Finland, and the result is statistically highly significant. In Finland, the differences are small and TV seems to be more liberal media than DVD. The result was not statistically significant.</p> <p>To sum up, mitigations of sexual references are unavoidable in some cases, but they should be carefully considered as they can result in a change in the styles of the characters and the whole series, strip the series of humour, and consequently break the illusion that the target language viewers understand the original language.</p>											
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1. INTRODUCTION

Censorship is defined in the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2005) as the act of "removing the parts of a book, film, etc. that are considered to be offensive, immoral or a political threat". It is often associated with political dictatorship and norms of chastity. In the modern global world, in which news and ideas spread freely through the Internet, censorship has become less visible – at least in the more liberal Western countries. Yet, there are still countries, for example **strongly Catholic ones such as Italy or the Latin American countries**, in which the censorship of television programmes and films is kept alive not only by the authorities, but also by translators. In the aforementioned countries censoring is made easier by the fact that programmes and films on television are translated using dubbing or voice-over. These audiovisual translation techniques involve covering of the original soundtrack by the target language soundtrack either completely or so that the original soundtrack can be faintly heard in the background. (see Scandura 2007 and Chiaro 2004).

The situation is considerably different in **Finland**. Like in the other Scandinavian countries, the dominant audiovisual translation method used in Finland is subtitling, which makes it more difficult to censor any parts of audio content, especially as the number of English speaking viewers is already rather high and increases constantly. As is well known, English is the dominating foreign source language among television programmes broadcasted in Finland. At the same time, the influence of the ecclesiastic authorities on the country's secular life and culture is much weaker than in Catholic countries. Although the majority of the population belongs to religious communities, with as much as 78.3 per

cent of Finns registered as members of the Evangelical Lutheran Church (Statistics Finland), the nature of Finnish religious belief is very private and preferred to be kept separate from the public life (Korpela 2005). This can also be seen in the fact that the Church rarely takes a public stand on the contents of TV programmes and films. Unlike in the early days of Finnish cinema and TV broadcasting, there now appear to be very few bans on political, sexual, violent or otherwise immoral content.

Nevertheless, it is unlikely that censorship has disappeared from Finnish television completely. It might have changed its form from public lists of banned films to something less invisible, for example to the moderation of audiovisual translations. To date, the field of TV censorship has been studied in Finland from the perspective of translation of taboo words in general (Hautala 2002), or specifically swear words (Venäläinen 1992, Räisänen 2010) or insults (Kuukka 2007). However, sexual references are an interesting group of taboo that have not yet been studied in detail, although sexual content is nowadays abundant in TV programmes and films, and remains a controversial issue throughout the media. Also, as Allan and Burridge (2006: 144) point out, the language used to talk about sexual activity entails the use of verbal play and figurative language, which also makes this subject worth investigating.

Hence, the aim of this study is to find out whether sexual references and allusions are transferred to Finnish subtitles with or without purposeful ideological moderation. This phenomenon will be studied on the basis of the popular American television series *Sex and*

the City and its Finnish subtitles. The show suits this purpose well, because sex is a very essential part of its plot, as the name of the series suggests, and the series provides with plenty of material to study sexual vocabulary and sexual allusions. Also, despite its popularity, the series has been rather scarcely studied in Finland. The studies done so far on *Sex and the City* have focused on the translations of wordplay in the Finnish subtitles (Tenhunen 2007), translation of culturally bound issues (Kautonen 2004) and the use of first-person narrative (Saarenmaa 2002).

The subtitles will be taken from the **TV and DVD versions** of the series, in order to find out how and if the media affects the strategies applied in translations of sexual references. The interest of the study also lies in the particular translation strategies used. The **first hypothesis** is that the sexual content has not been consequently eliminated or reduced in the Finnish subtitles, and especially not in the DVD subtitles, because DVDs are targeted at a more limited viewership, and therefore there is no need to take precautions for the sake of possible child viewers.

In order to shed light on cultural differences, Finnish subtitles will be compared with **Polish audiovisual translations, i.e. DVD subtitles and TV voice-over**, of the same series. Poland is an interesting point of comparison because it is, on one hand, an EU member state like Finland, but at the same time it is a country with a history of censorship and a country in which religion, i.e. the Catholic Church, still has a strong influence on

secular matters – such as the country's anti-abortion legislation or the content of sex education at schools (Concordat Watch).

Considering this, it is possible that pressure is also applied to translations of films and television series, especially ones as bold as *Sex and the City*. Outside pressure may, for example, cause preventive self-censorship to be performed by the translators themselves or other actors involved in the translation process. Therefore, **the second hypothesis** of the study is that the Polish translations – especially the TV voice-over – will contain much less of the sexual references featured in the English version than the Finnish audiovisual translations. Such cultural data is needed to provide both current and future audiovisual translators with a theoretical basis which they can build their work on. Audiovisual translating is a prolific and rapidly growing field of translating, and yet there is little knowledge on issues such as censorship in audiovisual translations. This study will attempt to make a change in this trend.

The thesis is structured in the following way: chapter 2 includes a brief review of the traditions of TV and film censorship in Finland and Poland, and thus presents the background information for the study. Next, chapter 3 describes in detail *Sex and the City*, the series serving as research material, and outlines how the sexually explicit series was received in other countries. Research method and the applied classifications are presented in chapter 4, followed by the presentation of results and their quantitative and qualitative analysis in chapter 5. Finally, the findings of the study will be summarized and commented

on in the conclusion and discussion in chapter 6, along with suggestions regarding topics for further research.

2. TRADITIONS OF TV AND FILM CENSORSHIP

In order to discuss censorship at present, it is vital to start by looking at the past. Background information is needed to be able to understand why and how censorship has become what it is like in the present in both Poland and Finland. What needs to be discussed is what kind of topics and words used to be taboo and what kind of issues are taboo now, as well as the differences and similarities between the two countries. The traditions of TV and film censorship in Finland and Poland will be discussed in the upcoming sections 2.1. and 2.2. The primary focus will be on censorship beginning from the 20th century since that is the time when the audiovisual media began to develop in both countries.

2.1. Traditions of TV and film censorship in Finland

In the course of history, the censorship of audiovisual material in Finland has involved actions ranging from banning films from whole audiences and cutting out scenes from film rolls to introducing age categories which prohibit the viewing of the film or programme only from certain age groups. In the very beginning of 20th century, there were no laws which would control censorship or appoint the officials responsible for censorship, and therefore only regional measures were taken to control the distribution and exhibition of films. Censorship was executed by the police, who could interrupt a film viewing if the material contained elements which were considered to be immoral (Sedergren 2006: 9). Thus censorship was performed in retrospect.

The first national censorship institution, **Valtion filmilautakunta** (State Board of Film), was established in 1919. It was controlled by the Ministry of Education, i.e. the state, but financed by private film entrepreneurs. According to Sedergren (2006: 9), from the very beginning, the main idea of censorship in Finland was to protect children and young adults, and ultimately the whole society, from promiscuity (mostly sex and violence) depicted in films. Horror was also included in the list, and from the 1930's – issues related to foreign policy as well. The 1920's and the 1930's in general were the decades of the most strict censorship. For example, in 1929 the musical film “Broadway” was banned, because “it depicts murders and violence committed by a criminal organization and glorifies the frivolous and licentious life in the big city” (Sedergren 2006: 18). Films from the horror and crime genre were either banned completely or severely cut. Soviet and Nazi propaganda and all kind of agit-prop material was also forbidden.

What is interesting, most of the cut films were American productions, and until circa 1934 no Finnish films had been “substantially” cut or banned. The situation changed radically after the Moscow Armistice in 1944, after which about twenty Finnish film productions were banned, because they contained war propaganda, depictions of Karelia or other areas ceded to Russia, or because they were considered nationalistic (Sedergren 2006: 59–61). Censorship became even more extensive after 1935 when the **Ministry of Education** passed its censorship regulation. It specified the guidelines of strict ideological and political control, with religion, morale, law and the social system named as the most basic foundations (Sedergren 2006: 21).

The national censorship institution became completely state-owned and controlled in 1946, when it also changed its name to **Valtion elokuvatarkastamo** (VET; State Office of Film Censorship), as it is called today – although the English name of the institution, according to their website, is now Finnish Board of Film Classification. The English name reflects the changes that have taken place during the past decades. According to Matti Paloheimo, director of the Finnish Board of Film Classification, censorship in Finland ended as such in 2001 when the Act on the Classification of Audiovisual Programmes (775/2000) came into force (2003: 13). The main purpose of the Act was to harmonize the film censorship system with the regulation regarding freedom of speech included in the constitution of Finland. The will to protect child and adolescent viewers from unsuitable content did not change, but what did change, though, is the approach and scope of censorship. After the Act, it no longer involves adults, but is now fully focused on the protection of minors.

This is done by inspection of films aimed for public distribution or viewing for under-aged persons and classifying the material according to age categories, currently **3 (suitable for all ages), 7, 11, 13, 15 and 18** (webpage of VET). The Board has the right to remove parts of a film considered potentially harmful for children, but it had not used this right at least until 2010. What is more, complete banning of audiovisual material is no longer possible. This, according to Paloheimo, is the most significant change from the pre-existing censorship system (2006: 8). Material meant solely for adults does not need to be inspected, but has to be reported and registered by the Board. Thus the **DVD release of**

Sex and the City, (used as a source for the Finnish and Polish DVD subtitles), which was purchased in Finland, is **rated 18**.

However, the authority of the Finnish Board of Film Classification and Act on the Classification of Audiovisual Programmes only applies to audiovisual material viewed in cinemas and distributed for sale and rental on DVD, VHS, etc, as well as computer games. Finnish television channels, on the other hand, can broadcast audiovisual material without previous examination. They are controlled by the **Act on Television and Radio Operations** (744/1998) , given by the Ministry of Transport and Communication, which is based on directive 97/36/EC given by the European Parliament and the Council. According to the Act, programmes which may contain material harmful to the development of children, must be “transmitted at times when children do not usually watch television programmes”. The borderline has been set at 21.00 by Finnish television broadcasters (Paloheimo 2006: 43). After this hour, even extremely violent and sexual material can be transmitted, provided it is in accordance with the Penal Code.

At the time of collecting research material for the present study, *Sex and the City* was emitted on **Nelonen and Liv** beginning from 21.00 and it was **rated 13**. The lower age rating, i.e. compared to the rating 18 of the Finnish DVD release, results from the fact that the broadcaster, Nelonen, wanted to emit the series at an earlier hour (19.30) in 2009 and asked the Board of Film Classification for their evaluation of the series – probably to avoid any future complaints. According to the webpage of the Board, SATC was rated 13 based

on three episodes from seasons 1 and 3 of the series, but it was considered to be a borderline case between 13 and 15 because of its sexual content (VET).

However, it needs to be said that age rating most likely **does not affect** the content of the Finnish audiovisual translations – at least this is the case for animated films. Such information was obtained by Reima (2009) during research for her BA thesis regarding domestication and foreignization in the audiovisual translations (DVD version) of personal names in the animated film *Madagascar*. Reima interviewed Ulla Leisio, the production manager of Finnish film distributor Finnkino, the company which was responsible for the theatrical distribution of *Madagascar* and for all its Finnish translations. According to Leisio (2009), the age rating does not influence the translation as the translation is often ready when VET views the film and decides on the age rating. Although this information was given with regards to an animated film, the conventions can be expected to be the same for the translations of other content released on DVD and in cinemas in Finland, since they are all rated by the same organ.

2.2. Traditions of TV and film censorship in Poland

Like in Finland, media censorship in Poland has also gone through multiple stages before taking its current shape. However, due to the fact that Poland has had a more tempestuous history than Finland, with three partitions, multiple wars and occupations that have taken place on the Polish territory, the development of censorship in Poland has been more complex. The scope and strictness of censorship have depended largely on political affairs.

Before the year 1918, both preventive and repressive censorship had been used to control the publication of unwanted content, although not always simultaneously. During the **partitions of Poland** committed by Russia, Prussia and Austria in the late 18th century, the censorship conventions varied on the divided territories depending on the ruling power. The main focus of all three was to filtrate Polish nationalistic and patriotic references, criticism of the partitioners' policy or anything that could incite uprisings. Prussian and Austrian censorship were more loose than censorship in the Russian partition.

Russian censorship also had the most long-lasting influence, as it appeared for the first time already in the 18th century and reappeared after World War II when it was employed by the **Communist authorities**. (Bates 1999a). Right after the declaration of independence in November 1918, preventive censorship was abolished and repressive censorship had to be instigated by the public prosecutor. Such cases would usually involve “attacks on the government and threats to public order and Poland's territorial integrity” (Bates 1999b). Preventive censorship was shortly reinstated during the 1920 war with Soviet Russia in order to protect military secrets.

In the interwar period, films and theatrical production were controlled by the State through the **Interior Ministry**. Interwar time taboos were listed in the 1919 **Decree on Public Performances** which brought back preventive censorship with regard to pornographic or otherwise immoral content, content that is against the law, crime-related content which demonstrates how crimes are committed, and also displaying military insignia and modern

uniforms of the Polish army. Works displayed in cinemas and theatres had to be viewed by the police prior to the public performance in order to ensure the authorities that the play or film did not contain forbidden elements. Further bans in cinematographic content were issued in 1920 in the form of **The Instruction for Cinematographic Censors**. The list included scenes and images “contrary to the law or public morality”, which meant content that is brutal, corruptive, criminal, offensive to decency, offensive to Polish national sentiments or religious sensibilities. (Bates 1999b).

During the **Nazi-Soviet occupation** in the years 1939–1945 censorship served as a means of destroying the Poles’ national identity and disseminating the occupants’ ideology. Hence, as can be expected, taboos during this period included any content critical of the occupants’ policy or doctrines, content that glorified capitalism, or content that encouraged Polish patriotism or sense of national pride. The Nazi indoctrination was somewhat less intense than that of the Soviets, therefore the German occupation e.g. allowed for Polish cinemas to function and even to show certain Polish films. The repertoire, however, was tailored to the needs of Nazi propaganda and focused on lighter genres such as comedy and farce which were intended to dumb down the audience (Bates 1999b). The Sovietization was more rigid and aimed at nationalization of all commercial activity. Therefore it also had a more long-lasting effect on censorship conventions in Poland.

The influence of **Soviet policy** continued as the communist Polish Workers’ Party took over the country in 1944. The Party-State gradually increased its control of the country’s

cultural activities and institutionalized censorship by establishing the **Main Office for Control of the Press, Publications and Public Performances (GUKPPiW)** in 1946. This period is probably the most notorious era of censorship in the history of Poland. Control of statements was one of the main tools of the totalitarian authorities of the **People's Republic of Poland**.

The criteria of censorship were issued in the July 1946 Decree. These included attacks on the political system, disclosure of state secrets, activities threatening the Polish state's international relations, misleading public opinion with false information, or content offensive to the broadly comprehended decorum (Kozłowski). Yet, these provisions were so vague that they left the censors plenty of room for interpretation. Anything that was seen as unfavourable to the interests of the Socialist regime could be edited or banned. This meant that virtually everything was censored – from obituaries, tram and cinema tickets to literature and screenplays of films (Kurski 2007). The decisions of the censors were final in practice and information about the applied censorship was kept secret.

Films – as well as television from its arrival in the mid 1950s – underwent intense scrutiny, because the strictness of censorship depended on the popularity of the medium (Bates 1999b). Screenplays were first sent for approval to the Ministry of Culture, which decided on their political acceptability, and once the film was made it was viewed by various committees which would decide whether the film would be released at all, whether it would be allowed wide or restricted distribution, whether cuts or changes needed to be

made, as well as how and if the film would be promoted. Parties involved in film censorship also included the **Politburo and government**. (Łuczak 2002.)

The situation began to change in August 1980 when **Solidarity** negotiated moderation of censorship with the state authorities. As a result, a new law, the Act on the Control of Publications and Public Performances, was passed in July 1981 which gave precise instructions when censorship could be implemented, legalised the publishing of information about censoring of works and introduced the right of appeal with regard to GUKPPiW's decisions through courts (Bates 1999b). Less than a decade later, the collapse of Communism also brought the end of preventive censorship. Both GUKPPiW and preventive censorship were abolished in 1990.

Nowadays, audiovisual content broadcasted on **television** is controlled by the **National Broadcasting Council (KRRiT)**. It was established in the 1992 Broadcasting Act as a state organ responsible for issuing radio and television concessions, indirect controlling of state-owned media and monitoring public broadcasters' obedience to the law. The current television rating system was introduced by KRRiT in August 2011. It includes a protected zone between 6.00 and 23.00 during which only programmes suitable for minors can be shown. Minors are generally understood as persons under 18, however programmes suitable for persons aged 16 and older must be broadcasted after 20.00. Broadcasters are obliged to equip their programmes with the appropriate symbol indicating the age restriction of the programme as **None, 7+, 12+, 16 + or 18+**. This obligation includes all

television (and radio) broadcasters alike, both public and private (Murawska-Najmiec 2011). In case of violations of the rating system, KRRiT may impose a fine or other penalty on the broadcaster.

However, KRRiT only has jurisdiction over broadcasters operating on a Polish concession. In addition to those there are also numerous channels which are broadcasted in Poland based on a foreign concession. These are mainly premium channels such as the HBO film channels, Discovery Channel, FOX Life or BBC, which are available via digital platforms. The Polish television translation used as a research material for the present study was obtained when *Sex and the City* was aired on premium channel **HBO Comedy**. This is a channel which does not come under KRRiT's jurisdiction, but the episodes were equipped with what seems to be the broadcaster's internal age rating. The episodes were rated as not suitable for persons under **15 years** and they were viewed at various times after 22.30, except for one episode (episode 9) which was aired at 19.00. Thus, it can be argued that the audience of the series was very restricted, as the channel itself is already a premium channel, and therefore there should not have been a reason to censor the language in the translation.

When it comes to age ratings of **films in theatrical and DVD distribution** in Poland, unlike in Finland, there are virtually no regulations at all. The decision to classify a film to a certain age category or leave the film unclassified is at the discretion of the distributor. There are no official procedures or assigned authorities responsible for controlling these

age ratings, which makes it difficult for parents to recognize films appropriate for their children. The Ombudsman for Children, Marek Michalak, petitioned the Polish Minister for Culture and Heritage in November 2011 to formulate new legislation concerning the control of age ratings of films viewed in cinemas (webpage of TVP Parlament). However, aspects regarding the lack of control of DVD releases in Poland are fairly irrelevant for the present study as both DVD translations analysed in this study were taken from a DVD release bought in Finland.

Despite the fact that the current **Polish Constitution** guarantees freedom to express opinions and prohibits preventive censorship of the social means of communication (Article 54), and guarantees the freedom of artistic creation (Article 73), Poland still cannot be considered fully censorship-free. **Indeks 73**, a Polish initiative formed to protect the freedom of artistic expression guaranteed by Article 73 of the Polish Constitution, has noted over 90 cases of attempted or successful acts of censorship of Polish art between the years 1989 and 2008. The interventions were often done by local government officials and members of parliament (usually those connected with national conservative parties), as well as activists from Catholic organisations and even directors of cultural institutions (webpage of Indeks 73).

The **chronicle of censorship** assembled by Indeks 73 (webpage of Indeks 73) lists cases of closed art exhibitions, violated or banned works of art and artists, interventions aiming at banning theatre performances of Eve Ensler's *Vagina Monologues*, or screenings of such

controversial films as *Dogma* by Kevin Smith, *Kamasutra* by Mira Nair, or Pedro Almodovar's *Bad Education*. The protests regarding the above mentioned titles were initiated by local activists of a major Polish right-wing party, The League of Polish Families (LPR), known for their conservative Christian and nationalistic views. The activists actually managed to withhold the viewings of *Kamasutra* and *Dogma* in some cities. (webpage of Indeks 73.)

Some of the noted cases also regarded films screened on **television**. In January 2003, Polish public television channel TVP1 censored all scenes depicting sexual orgies in the film *The Idiots* by Lars von Trier, even though the film was screened after midnight. According to Indeks 73 (webpage), TVP1 officials stated that the changes were necessary to protect the viewers and that the cut version was broadcasted with the permission of the film distributor, author and producer of the film. However, the distributor denied having permitted any changes to the film.

A similar case of crude moral censorship took place as recently as April 2008. Telewizja Puls, a religious TV station the shareholders of which include the order of Fransiscans, aired two Polish films, *Fever* by Agnieszka Holland and *Pearl in the Crown* by Kazimierz Kutz, and took the liberty of censoring **erotic scenes** by substituting them with commercial breaks. What is more, the broadcaster had not acquired the authors' permission for the changes. Activists from Indeks 73 criticised the actions of Telewizja Puls in an open letter.

The management of the broadcaster issued an apology to both film directors which lead to abandonment of legal actions in the case. (webpage of Indeks 73.)

Since many of the noted cases of censorship described above took place less than a decade ago, these events give reason to suspect that censorship may also have affected the Polish audiovisual translations of *Sex and the City*. If even such far-reaching measures as deletion of morally hazardous scenes have been applied, it is justified to believe that less noticeable measures, such as linguistic moderation, are taken to water down contents of television and perhaps even DVD translations. Whether the research material provides evidence in support of this presumption will be seen in chapter 5.

3. RESEARCH MATERIAL

Before moving to the overview of the research method and the analysis of results, a brief description of the research material is needed to explain why this very material was chosen. *Sex and the City*, hereinafter referred to as **SATC**, is an American cable television series categorized as a comedy series (HBO website). It is viewed in Finland with a Finnish title *Sinkkuelämä* (lit. transl. *Singles' life*), whereas its Polish title is *Seks w Wielkim Mieście* (lit. transl. *Sex in the big city*). It consists of 6 seasons and 94 episodes, with each of them having a running time of approximately 30 minutes. The series was originally broadcasted in the United States on HBO from 1998 to 2004.

SATC was broadcasted in Finland for the first time on MTV3, from 1999 to 2004, and since then it has been repeated on Nelonen, Subtv and Liv. All the aforementioned Finnish channels are commercial channels. In Poland, SATC has been broadcasted by public broadcasting channel TVP2, public commercial channels TVN, TVN7, as well as premium television channels such as Comedy Central Polska, HBO Comedy and TVN Style. The series has also been released on DVD and it has influenced two feature films, *Sex and The City: The Movie*, released in May 2008, and *Sex and The City 2* which was released in the summer of 2010.

SATC tells about four American women in their mid-thirties and forties, their friendship, relationships and life in New York. The plot is narrated by Carrie who works as a freelance columnist for a New York newspaper. Her sex-related columns are inspired by the rich and

eventful social life of herself and her closest friends Miranda, Samantha and Charlotte. All four women have different backgrounds and professions, but what is common for all of them is that they belong to a generation of highly successful and emancipated women who try to find a balance between their independence and a functioning relationship. Sex and relationships are the core of the plot, and blunt sex talk is characteristic for the series, what makes SATC an excellent research material for study of sexual references.

The series has gained wide popularity and has already established itself as a pop culture phenomenon. However, it has also attracted negative publicity due to its **controversial topics**, explicit use of swear words and sexual vocabulary, as well as the sexually emancipated female characters (Scandura 2007). For example, **in Singapore** the series was banned for five years, and it was released for broadcasting by the Singapore government in 2004, under the condition that certain scenes related with the character of the most sexually liberal character, Samantha, containing “sexually charged expletives” and exposing of breasts were deleted (ABC News). SATC has met with similar censorship in the native **United States**. It was originally aired uncut on HBO, which is a premium cable channel, but was then harshly edited in order to be allowed for broadcasting on non-premium cable television and network television. Here as well the deletions included expletives and sex scenes (Husain 2007).

According to **Delia Chiaro** (2007), the series has undergone moderation also on **Italian television**. Chiaro performed a qualitative study comparing the original and Italian

translations of sexual references occurring throughout the six seasons of SATC. Although Chiaro found out that the changes in the Italian dub only involve the dialogue and that no scenes had been cut, she points out that the Italian version is “considerably dissimilar from the original” (2007: 263). Many sexual references to e.g. genitalia, oral sex, anal sex or sexual fetishes have been **toned down** stylistically, or even **deleted**.

Chiaro also notices that as a result of the dubbing process **the voices of characters and background sounds** have been altered to such extent that it can be considered censorship (2007: 263–264). The dub voices of the four main characters are ill-matched to the original actors, which changes the women’s personal style of speaking and thus also influences their character. The background noises of the people and the city, which play an important role in SATC, have often been muffled. Chiaro also points out that there is less moaning and heavy breathing in the sex scenes in the Italian version, and also the voice quality of the actors is different, i.e. less sexy and more comic, which seems to aim at drawing the focus of the scenes away from the sexuality (2007:272–273). Interviews conducted with Italian dubbing directors and dubbing translators confirmed that conscious and deliberate self-censorship was involved in the process.

These findings further justified the need to perform a similar study on the Finnish and Polish translations of SATC, and to find out whether similar procedures are applied in these countries. The present study focuses on sexual references and their translations, particularly on translations in which the sexual content has been omitted or toned down.

While it is difficult to know for sure which deletions or mitigations result from actual censorship without interviewing the translators or other agents deciding about the translation process, the study will focus more on what can be deduced from the research material. Analysis of the research material will attempt to answer questions such as how big percentage of all translated references do the omissions and moderations constitute, what kind of references are translated or left untranslated, how the translations are done, and what effect do the chosen translation strategies have on the target text. A more detailed presentation of the research method will be given in chapter 4.

The actual research material consists of a selection of **16 of the 20 episodes of the 6th season** of the series. The reason for this choice is that these episodes were most easily accessible for the study. These episodes were being re-run on Finnish public television on sister channels **Nelonen and Liv**, and on Polish television on premium cable channel **HBO Comedy** at the time of collecting research material for this study. The sixth season was also the only one which had Polish and Finnish subtitles on the DVD release at the time of doing the study. The episodes recorded from the Finnish television were displayed between 28th December 2009 and 1st February 2010, whereas the episodes from the Polish television were aired between 19th April 2010 and 13th May 2010.

When studying translations, one important factor to be considered is the **translator**. All 16 episodes used as research material for this study, viewed in the Finnish television, were translated by the same translator, Mari Hallivuori. This is also most likely the case with the

PL TV voice-over. During the final credits of 10 out of 16 of examined episodes the voice-over narrator states that the translations were done by Sylwester Misiorek and Krzysztof Kowalczyk. Due to technical reasons, 6 of the recorded episodes were cut short before hearing the information regarding the involved translators. Both DVD translations taking part in the study were translated by more than one translator. The episodes in the FI DVD version were translated by Tiina Kinnunen (6 episodes), Janne Marko (2 episodes), Eeva Lilley (4 episodes) and Juhamatti Lähdesmäki (1 episode). The information was missing in 3 episodes. In the PL DVD version, the subtitles of all the studied episodes were credited and they were translated by 4 translators: Agnieszka Kopińska (3 episodes), Ela Wołk (6 episodes), Agata Baranowska-Orr (6 episodes) and Małgorzata Giżak (1 episode).

The comparison of versions translated by the same translator and those translated by multiple translators would be another interesting perspective for a study on censorship, as it might bring more evidence about the existence or absence of ground rules (within each media) regarding the translation strategies of taboo language. However, this is beyond the scope of the present study and therefore the four versions will be viewed as whole translations, without going into details within each episode. Further information concerning the research method will be presented in the next chapter.

4. RESEARCH METHOD

The study was performed by identifying and transcribing the sexual references from the original, English language, version of the chosen 16 episodes, after which the corresponding dialogues were transcribed from the Polish and Finnish audiovisual translations. The main goal of the study is to find out which sexual references were translated and how, as well as what kind of sexual references had not been translated. In order to do this, the translations were categorised according to the applied translation strategy. This was done using a specially designed classification based on **Ritva Leppihalme's** classification of local translation strategies (2007). Both of these classifications will be presented in subchapter 4.1.

In order to be able to draw conclusions about whether there is a pattern between the type of sexual reference and the used translation strategy, the sexual references were also divided into semantic categories. This purpose also required creating a specially designed classification, like in the case of translation strategies. The classification of semantic categories was influenced by the classification used in a similar study of SATC conducted by **Delia Chiaro** (2007), though it had to be adjusted to suit the current research material. The semantic classifications will be presented in subchapter 4.2.

4.1. Classification of translation strategies

Since the main purpose of this study is to find out how sexual references are translated in Finland and Poland, the most important tool of analysis is the classification of translation strategies. As censorship has not yet been studied extensively, a suitable classification had to be developed specifically for the purposes of the study. However, in order to do that, an already existing classification was needed as a theoretical core for the new classification. Therefore, a classification by Ritva Leppihalme was chosen as it is a straightforward set of the most basic, local translation strategies.

Leppihalme's strategies are as follows (2007: 368–373), categories and explanations were translated from the original by Sobon: **1) retention** (or direct translation or loan translation; involves transferring a foreign word to the translation as such or with minimal modifications), **2) modification** (changing translation units from one language to a different language), **3) addition** (adding an explanation or specification e.g. for a phenomenon existing in the source culture that could otherwise be difficult for the reader from the target culture to understand; or compensating humour, verbal plays, etc. omitted elsewhere in the translation), **4) omission** (leaving a word or reference without translation, so that an equivalent for it cannot be found in the target text).

As can be seen from the above presentation, Leppihalme's classification is a set of universal local strategies that can be applied to virtually any kind of text. In order to be able to meet the more specific demands of the study, i.e. to see how and if sexuality is

transferred to the translations of SATC, the translations of sexual references were studied and the observations were used to create a customised classification of translation strategies which focuses on the level of sexuality. The translation strategies used in the present study are as follows (the italicized examples are from the research material):

1) Direct translation

2) Mitigated translation

3) Intensified translation

Direct translation is a derivative of Leppihalme's first strategy, retention, as it implies that the original word is preserved in the translation. However, it also has elements of modification, because in the context of this study direct translating does not mean that the translated reference has to be identical with the original, i.e. a loan word, but that a sexual reference in the source language is translated with an utterance in target language that is of approximately equal level of vulgarity (translating a neutral term with a neutral term, slang with slang, etc), or of approximately equal sexual directness. For example: *I fucked him* > *Nain häntä*.

The second strategy, **mitigated translation**, is probably the most significant strategy for the present study. Even though censorship is difficult to establish with certainty, diluted or toned down translations may indicate that some kind of linguistic moderation has been

applied, for one reason or another. In this study, a mitigated translation means that the sexual reference is translated with a less vulgar or sexually less direct utterance, e.g. *penises stay in the bathroom* > *pippelit pysyvät kylppärissä*; or the sexuality in the reference was entirely omitted in the translation, e.g. *Now I'm looking for someone new to fuck* > *Nyt etsin jotakuta muuta*; or the whole utterance containing the sexual reference was omitted in the translation. In a sense, this category includes two Leppihalme's strategies, modification and omission. There was no need to create a separate strategy for omission, as it can be seen as a form of mitigation, and because there are only a few such cases in the research material.

The third strategy, **intensified translation**, means that the sexual reference is translated with a more vulgar utterance, or that sexuality is made clearer and more direct in the translation, e.g. *Do they do it at Gymboree?* > *Vauvajumpassako he sekstaavat?* This strategy combines Leppihalme's strategies modification and addition, as it involves both changing translation units from source language to target language and adding new elements. However, in the context of the present study, addition does not mean addition in numerical meaning, but in qualitative meaning: it is the level of sexuality or taboo in the translation that increases.

4.2. Semantic classification of sexual references

As was stated in the beginning of chapter 4, the sexual references in the research material were also classified semantically using a specifically designed classification. The initial

idea was to use the same classification that was used by Delia Chiaro (2007), as this would enable comparing the findings of this study with Chiaro's. The study conducted by Chiaro was presented in chapter 3. In her study, Chiaro (2007: 265–272) divided sexual references in the following way: **1) items related to genitalia, 1a) male genitalia, 1b) female genitalia, 2) references to sexual activity, 2a) sexual intercourse, 2b) references to 'additional' sexual practices** (e.g. erectile problems, sexually transmitted diseases, fetichisms, oral and anal sex, sadomasochism, ménage à trois). Because the research material of the present study and Chiaro's study are similar, Chiaro's classification seemed suitable in most parts as such for the present study.

However, after an initial analysis of the research material of this study, it turned out that a more detailed classification would serve the research better. Chiaro's category 2b, references to additional sexual practices, contains a large scope of sex-related references from sexual health issues to fetichisms. It seems that Chiaro's focus was more general since she did not divide the references in a more detailed way. However, it can be argued that the so called additional sexual issues that are the most interesting part of this research material, as those include issues generally considered the strongest taboos in many cultures, such as homosexuality, masturbation, extramarital relationships, prostitution, pornography, and issues connected with sexual health. And, even more importantly, those are among the issues that tend to be strongly **opposed by the church** (Allan and Burridge 2006: 144–174), which is important for the present study since it aims to compare

translations of sexual references made in a less religious culture and a more religiously conservative culture.

Therefore, the classification used for the present study consists of more categories than Chiaro's, with extra categories added in order to get a more detailed view on the translation strategies of references connected with sex industry, extramarital relationships and sexual health issues which can be expected to be very taboo in a religious environment like Poland. Categories 1a, 1b, 2a, and partially 2b are the same as in Chiaro's study. The classification used in the present study is as follows (the examples in italics are taken from the research material):

1) References to genitalia

a. male genitalia

b. female genitalia

2) References to sexual activity

a. sexual intercourse

b. additional sexual practices

3) References to sex and society

a. sex industry

b. extramarital sex and relationships

c. sexual health issues

d. other cases

The first category, **references to genitalia**, is rather self-explanatory: it includes all references to **a) male genitalia** and **b) female genitalia**, e.g. *penis, cock, balls, teabags, vagina, beaver, cunt*.

The second category, **references to sexual intercourse**, includes references to sex in what can be considered the most traditional and at the same time least taboo form of sexual intercourse, such as heterosexual sex, having an orgasm and ejaculating. For example: *to do it; to have good sex; to fuck; to come; a good fuck; a quick bang*.

References to additional sexual practices includes references to more taboo issues connected with sexual intercourse, such as references to homosexuals and to sexual orientation in general, oral and anal sex, masturbation, lubricants and sex toys, e.g. *He's straight; gay man; fag; to blow him; vibrator*.

References to sex industry includes references to prostitution, porn and stripping, e.g. *hooker, whore-a, hustler, stripper, slut*.

References to extramarital sex and relationships includes references to sex-based extramarital relationships, such as *fling*, *lover*, *Loverville*.

References to sexual health issues is rather self-explanatory. It includes references to sexual health, e.g. birth control (*Trojans*; *he's protected*), menstruating (*tampon*), erectile problems (*erectile dysfunction*), sexually transmitted diseases (*if what you get doesn't itch...*), vasectomy.

Other cases is a category that includes a variety of sexual references which did not fit the other categories (such as *stud*), but which appeared in the research material so scarcely that it did not justify setting up separate categories, for example: phone sex, nudity (*full frontal*), being sexually aroused (*get off on*, *horny*, *hard-on*) , etc.

5. ANALYSIS

The results of the analysis will be presented in this chapter. It is divided into three parts. First, subchapter 5.1 will present the overall results regarding the distribution of translation strategies in all four versions. Then subchapter 5.2 will focus on the comparison of results between the two cultures – Poland and Finland, whereas the next subchapter, 5.3, will be devoted to the comparison of translation strategies used in the two types of media, namely DVD and TV. The analysis will be illustrated with tables explaining the quantitative results and with examples from the research material which support the qualitative perspective of the study.

During the analysis of the translations, several dictionaries were used to check and compare the usage and meanings of sexual vocabulary. The following dictionaries were consulted: printed Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2005), online Finnish-English-Finnish and Finnish monolingual dictionaries by MOT, online English dictionary The Free Dictionary, online Polish-English-Polish dictionaries by Ling.pl, online Polish slang dictionary Miejski.pl, Polish-English-Polish and monolingual Polish dictionaries by Gazeta.pl, as well as online Finnish slang dictionary Urbaani Sanakirja.com (see the bibliography for further details on dictionaries).

The examples presented in the analysis chapter are equipped with English back-translations, performed by the author of the study, in order to aid the understanding of readers who are not fluent in Polish and/or Finnish. The examples were not glossed

because the back-translations were deemed to be sufficient for the purposes of the study, since it focuses on the semantics of the translations and not their syntax. Any information regarding the semantical or syntactical details of the translations that is relevant for the discussed cases will be explained by the author within the body text.

5.1. Overall results of all four translations

The research material of the study consists of 235 cases of sexual references transcribed from the original English version. Consequently, there are 235 translations in each of the four versions (235 translations on Polish DVD version, 235 translations in Finnish DVD, etc.), which gives a total of 940 cases to be analysed. The translations of the sexual references were first classified according to the translation strategy using the classification described in subchapter 4.1. Cases in which a reference or utterance was completely omitted in the translated version were also counted as translations, and were classified as mitigated references.

As can be seen from tables 1 and 2, the most common translation strategy in all four versions is **direct translation**. It is used in over 80 per cent of cases in three out of the four versions, the exception being PL TV in which direct translations account for circa 65 per cent of translated references. The difference between FI DVD, PL DVD and FI TV in the number of direct translations is very small, with number of direct translations ranging from 189 to 191, and the version with the highest number of direct translations is FI TV. At the

same time, there is a rather big difference between those three versions and the version with the smallest number of direct translations, PL TV, which has 153 direct translations.

Table 1: Distribution of translation strategies in all four versions

Translation strategy	Distribution of strategies				
	FI DVD	PL DVD	FI TV	PL TV	Total:
Direct	189	190	191	153	723
Mitigated	39	42	33	76	190
Intensified	7	3	11	6	27
Total:	235	235	235	235	940

Table 2: Distribution of translation strategies in all four versions in per cents

Translation strategy	Distribution of strategies in per cents			
	FI DVD	PL DVD	FI TV	PL TV
Direct	80.4 %	80.8 %	81.3 %	65.1 %
Mitigated	16.6 %	17.9 %	14.0 %	32.3 %
Intensified	3.0 %	1.3 %	4.7 %	2.5 %
Total (100 %=235)	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

Judging on the research material, direct translation should have been rather easy to use because most sexual references found in the research material have a straightforward equivalent in Finnish or Polish. Altogether 112 cases out of 235, i.e. 47.7 per cent, were

translated directly in all of the four versions. Example 1 below presents one such case. The word *fuck* has been translated with equally vulgar terms in Polish and Finnish. In this scene the four heroines are making plans to go out for drinks on Friday when Samantha remembers that she cannot go with them. She has promised Smith, her casual sex partner, to go see his play at the theatre. Carrie, Miranda and Charlotte find her gesture sweet, but Samantha is not happy because she feels she is compromising her rules. (The back-translations of examples are given in square brackets)

EXAMPLE 1.

Samantha: *It's not sweet. It's pathetic how far a girl will go for a good fuck.*

FI DVD: Eikä ole. On surullista, miten pitkälle tyttö menee kunnon **panon** takia. [No it's not. It's sad how far a girl will go for a proper fuck.]

PL DVD: To żałosne, jak daleko trzeba się posunąć dla dobrego **pieprzenia**. [It's pathetic how far one must go for a good fuck.]

FI TV: Eikä ole. Näin alas pitää vajota hyvän **panon** takia. [No it's not. One must stoop to such a low for a good fuck.]

PL TV: To żałosne jak dla dobrego **rżnięcia** trzeba się poświęcać. [It's pathetic what sacrifices one must make for a good fuck.]

If the liberality of the translation was to be measured based on the number of direct translations, FI TV version would be the most liberal one – or the one most faithful to the original – and the least liberal one would be the PL TV version. This is also supported by the results concerning the second most common translation strategy in the study, **mitigation**. Unsurprisingly, the version with the highest number of mitigated translations is PL TV with 76 mitigated references. What is surprising, though, is the fact that the version with the smallest number of mitigated translations is FI TV – with 33 mitigated references out of the 235 references examined – and not FI DVD. This subject will be discussed further in subchapter 5.3.

The least common strategy in all four versions is intensified translation. Quantitatively, **intensification** does not play a significant role in these four translations as it is used to translate only 1.3 to 4.7 per cent of sexual references in each version. Because the frequency of intensification in all four versions is so small compared to the remaining strategies, and because its distribution does not seem systematic, it has to be acknowledged that the research material does not provide sufficient information needed to make firm statements about the purpose of this strategy.

Judging on the quantitative distribution only, it seems that intensification is connected to being liberal in translating, because the version with the highest number of direct translations, i.e. FI TV, also has the biggest number of intensified translations – with 11 translations out of 235, constituting 4.7 per cent of all translations in this version. Also, the second highest number of intensifications – 3 per cent and 7 translations, is found in a Finnish translation, i.e. in FI DVD, which was the third most liberal translation according to the number of direct translations. The lowest number can be observed in PL DVD with only 3 intensified translations out of 235. Intensifications will be discussed further in subchapters 5.2. and 5.3.

As was stated in chapter 4, the sexual references were also classified according to the **semantic categories** they represent. The classification was done based on the English DVD version of SATC. The distribution of semantic categories is presented below in table 3.

Table 3: Semantic categories and sexual references

Name of the category:	Number of occurrences based on the English version:
References to male genitalia (1a)	14
References to female genitalia (1b)	6
References to sexual intercourse (2a)	99
References to additional sexual practices (2b)	59
References to sex industry (3a)	17
References to extramarital sex and relationships (3b)	18

References to sexual health issues (3c)	8
References to other cases (3d)	14
Total:	235

As table 3 shows, the most popular category in the research material is category **2a, references to sexual intercourse**, with 99 occurrences. The second most popular category is **2b, references to additional sexual practices**, with 59 occurrences. These two categories were clearly the most numerous ones. The third most popular category is references to extramarital sex and relationships, with 18 occurrences, which came close to references to sex industry with 17 occurrences. The least numerous semantic group is **female genitalia**, references from which occur in the research material only 6 times. References to **sexual health issues** were almost as scarce with 8 occurrences.

The main focus of this study is to see how the sexual references were translated and whether there is correlation between the chosen translation strategy and the semantic category of a reference. Obviously, the most interesting categories from the perspective of this study are mitigations and intensifications, since they signal the changes that have been made to the sexual content during the translation process. In order to find out which references or phenomena are more (or less) taboo than others in the four translations, we have to look at the percentages of mitigated references out of all occurrences in the eight semantic categories.

According to table 5, there is some variation between the four translations when it comes to **mitigations** and the semantic categories. In FI DVD and FI TV, which are the versions with the smallest number of mitigated references, the maximum of mitigations in any of the semantic categories is 33.3 %. The most mitigated category in FI DVD is references to extramarital sex and relationships (3b), whereas for FI TV it is female genitalia (1b).

What is interesting is that both these versions have two categories which have not been mitigated at all: in the case of FI DVD these categories are female genitalia (1b) and sexual health issues (3c), and for FI TV male genitalia (1a) and – similarly to FI DVD – sexual health issues (3c). As a matter of fact, category 3c does not seem to be very taboo in any of the four versions as it has also not been mitigated in PL DVD, and it is the category with the lowest percentage of mitigations (12.5 %) in PL TV which has the biggest number of mitigations in total.

Table 4: Mitigation and semantic categories – all versions

Semantic category	Audiovisual translation				Total:
	FI DVD	PL DVD	FI TV	PL TV	
1a - References to male genitalia	1	2	0	2	5
1b - References to female genitalia	0	4	2	3	9
2a - References to sexual intercourse	18	17	15	24	74
2b - References to additional sexual practices	9	9	8	23	49
3a - References to sex industry	3	4	3	7	17
3b - References to extramarital sex and relationships	6	2	2	10	20

3c - References to sexual health issues	0	0	0	1	1
3d - References to other cases	2	4	3	6	15
Total:	39	42	33	76	190

Table 5: Percentages of mitigated references in semantic categories

Semantic category	Percentage of mitigated references out of all occurrences				Occurrences in total in this category
	FI DVD	PL DVD	FI TV	PL TV	100% =
1a - References to male genitalia	7.14 %	14.3 %	0	14.3 %	14
1b - References to female genitalia	0	66.7 %	33.3 %	50.0 %	6
2a - References to sexual intercourse	18.2 %	17.2 %	15.1 %	24.2 %	99
2b - References to additional sexual practices	15.2 %	15.2 %	13.6 %	39.0 %	59
3a - References to sex industry	17.6 %	23.5 %	17.6 %	41.2 %	17
3b - References to extramarital sex and relationships	33.3 %	11.1 %	11.1 %	55.5 %	18
3c - References to sexual health issues	0	0	0	12.5 %	8
3d - References to other cases	14.3 %	28.6 %	21.4 %	43.0 %	14

When it comes to Polish versions, the most mitigated categories are female genitalia (1b) with 66.7 % of occurrences mitigated in PL DVD and references to extramarital sex and relationships (3b) with 55.5 % for PL TV. PL DVD has one category which has not been mitigated at all – sexual health issues – whereas PL TV contains mitigations in all of the 8 semantic categories.

The percentages of **intensified** references within semantic categories are much lower than those of mitigated references, due to the smaller number of cases in total. As can be seen from table 7, the highest percentage of intensified references is found in FI DVD and FI TV, with 12.5 % of intensified references in category 3c, sexual health issues. References from four out of eight semantic categories were not intensified at all in any of the four translations, i.e. references to female genitalia (1b), sex industry (3a), extramarital sex and relationships (3b) and other cases (3d). At the same time, intensified references from category 2a – references to sexual intercourse – are found in all four translations. The second most popular category to intensify among the four translations is references to additional sexual practices (2b), as intensified references from this category can be found in three out of four translations, with the exception of FI DVD.

Table 6: Intensification and semantic categories – all versions

Semantic category	Number of intensified references out of all occurrences				
	FI DVD	PL DVD	FI TV	PL TV	Total:
1a - References to male genitalia	0	0	1	1	2
1b - References to female genitalia	0	0	0	0	0
2a - References to sexual intercourse	6	1	8	4	19
2b - References to additional sexual practices	0	2	1	1	4
3a - References to sex industry	0	0	0	0	0
3b - References to extramarital sex and relationships	0	0	0	0	0
3c - References to sexual health issues	1	0	1	0	2

3d - References to other cases	0	0	0	0	0
Total:	7	3	11	6	27

Table 7: Percentages of intensified references in semantic categories

Semantic category	Percentage of mitigated references out of all occurrences				Occurrences in total in this category
	FI DVD	PL DVD	FI TV	PL TV	100% =
1a - References to male genitalia	0	0	7.1 %	7.1 %	14
1b - References to female genitalia	0	0	0	0	6
2a - References to sexual intercourse	6.1 %	1.0 %	8.1 %	4.0 %	99
2b - References to additional sexual practices	0	8.5 %	1.7 %	1.7 %	59
3a - References to sex industry	0	0	0	0	17
3b - References to extramarital sex and relationships	0	0	0	0	18
3c - References to sexual health issues	12.5 %	0	12.5 %	0	8
3d - References to other cases	0	0	0	0	14

The comparison of different versions according to translation strategies in semantic categories will be discussed with more details in the upcoming subchapters.

5.2. Comparison of translation strategies according to country

As was already stated in the introduction, one of the main **hypotheses** of this study was that there would be fewer direct translations and more mitigated translations in the Polish

versions of SATC than in the Finnish versions. The collated results regarding the two countries presented in tables 8 and 9 seem to support this hypothesis (X^2 -test $p= 0.0003$). The result is statistically highly significant.

Table 8: Distribution of translation strategies in Finland and Poland

	Distribution of strategies according to country		
	Polish versions	Finnish versions	Total:
Direct	343	380	723
Mitigated	118	72	190
Intensified	9	18	27
Total:	470	470	940

Table 9: Distribution of translation strategies in Finland and Poland in per cents

Translation strategy	Distribution of strategies in per cents	
	Polish versions	Finnish versions
Direct	73.0 %	80.8 %
Mitigated	25.1 %	15.3 %
Intensified	1.9 %	3.8 %
Total (100% = 470)	100 %	100 %

As can be seen from the above tables, there are as many as 118 mitigated translations in the Polish versions whereas the corresponding figure in Finnish versions is 72. This means that

25.1 per cent, i.e. more than one fourth, of all sexual references are mitigated in the Polish versions. The corresponding figure in Finnish is 15.3 % which is only about one sixth of all references. Thus the difference between the countries is about 10 percentage points. The difference in direct translations between the two countries amounts to 7.8 percentage points and is slightly smaller than those of mitigations.

When one looks at mitigations in different semantic categories presented in tables 10 and 11, it appears rather clearly that the least taboo category for both countries is **references to sexual health issues** (3c). None of the 16 occurrences from this category were mitigated in the Finnish versions and only one out of 16 such references was mitigated in the Polish ones.

The most taboo category, on the other hand, seems to be 2a, **references to sexual intercourse**, as it is the category with the highest number of mitigations in both countries. However, as there are already rather big differences between the occurrences of different semantic categories, the information gathered from percentual results is more accurate for the the purposes of the study. Percentually, the most mitigated and hence the most taboo category in the Polish translations appears to be 1b, **female genitalia**, with 58.3 per cent of occurrences mitigated. This means that in the Polish versions 7 out of 12 different references to female genitalia were mitigated, whereas in the Finnish versions the corresponding figures for this semantic category are 16.7 per cent and 2 out of 12.

Table 10: Mitigation according to countries

Semantic category	FI (DVD+TV)	PL (DVD+TV)	Total:
1a - References to male genitalia	1	4	5
1b - References to female genitalia	2	7	9
2a - References to sexual intercourse	33	40	73
2b - References to additional sexual practices	17	32	49
3a - References to sex industry	6	11	17
3b - References to extramarital sex and relationships	8	12	20
3c - References to sexual health issues	0	1	1
3d - References to other cases	5	10	15
Total:	72	117	189

Table 11: Percentages of mitigated references according to countries

Semantic category	FI (DVD+TV)	PL (DVD+TV)	Out of a total:
1a - References to male genitalia	3.6 %	14.3 %	28
1b - References to female genitalia	16.7 %	58.3 %	12
2a - References to sexual intercourse	16.7 %	20.2 %	198
2b - References to additional sexual practices	14.4 %	27.1 %	118
3a - References to sex industry	17.6 %	32.3 %	34
3b - References to extramarital sex and relationships	22.2 %	33.3 %	36
3c - References to sexual health issues	0	6.2 %	16
3d - References to other cases	17.8 %	35.7 %	28

The mitigations of female genitalia appear quite randomly in the research material. There were only two cases in which both Polish versions agreed to mitigate. In other cases, the translator of the PL DVD version felt the need to mitigate *clit* and *pussy* and also twice the term *cunt* – as will be demonstrated in the following example – but regarded *vagina* and *beaver* as acceptable to be translated directly. *Beaver* was, in fact, translated directly in all four versions. The translation of PL TV, on the other hand, only includes a mitigated term for *vagina* and twice the word *cunt*.

The case concerning the term *cunt* is rather interesting. It appears in the research material twice in a row, and it is used as an insult, but in an endearing way. The four women are having farewell drinks to send off Carrie who is moving to Paris. They are sharing fun stories and memories, while trying to avoid shedding tears. When discussing Samantha's vivid sex life, Carrie snipes at her playfully, and Samantha retorts with an endearing insult:

EXAMPLE 2.

Samantha: *Oh, I'm gonna miss you, you **cunt**.*

FI DVD: Voi, minun tulee ikävä sinua, senkin **pillu**. [Oh, I am going to miss you, you cunt.]

PL DVD: Będzie mi Ciebie brakowało, **dziwko**. [I will miss you, you slut.]

FI TV: Sinua tulee ikävä, senkin **horo**. [I am going to miss you, you bitch.]

PL TV: Będzie tęsknić, Ty **zdziro**. [I will miss you, you slut.]

Cunt was translated directly only in FI DVD and mitigated in the other three versions. Someone might disagree on classifying the three other versions as mitigated, as the terms used in them are also vulgar and offensive, and are connected to sexuality. Admittedly, it is a borderline case. However, *cunt* is a much stronger word than *dziwka*, *zdzira* or *horo* – in fact, it is considered to be one of the most vulgar and taboo words in English language, especially for women (Casselman). What is more, *cunt* is usually used as an offensive term to refer to an obnoxious or extremely disagreeable person (The Free Dictionary), which is the context Samantha was aiming at – whereas *dziwka*, *zdzira* and *horo* refer to sexual promiscuity, similarly to *whore* and *slut*. Those have also become more common in speech and have less shock value than *cunt*, which is an important aspect in this case because it is more than likely that shock value is the reason why Samantha used this word. Hence, the choice of the FI DVD translator, *pillu*, seems fitting for this context. The other translators may have thought that the offensive term for vagina is too strong to use, or they may have chosen not to use it because they simply did not consider the reference to genitalia important in this context, and instead used a different vulgar term which is more idiomatic

as an insult than e.g. the Polish equivalents of *cunt*, like *pizda* or *cipa*, or the Finnish equivalent *pillu*.

When it comes to other semantic categories, it is interesting that in both countries female genitalia appear to be more taboo than **male genitalia**. Male genitalia (1a) was the second least mitigated category as well for Finnish translations as for Polish translations. Most references to male genitalia were translated directly (and sometimes even intensified, whereas references female genitalia were not intensified at all) even if the word used was as vulgar as *cock* or *dick*. Perhaps female genitalia are regarded as more sacred since they are connected to childbearing and therefore speaking of them in rude terms (like *pussy*) or in terms of sex for pleasure or masturbation (*clit*) could feel inappropriate to some. Another reason might be that using coarse terms about male genitalia is seen as more fitting and masculine behaviour whereas women are expected to be more sophisticated and discreet about sexuality. One case in which mitigation was applied for male genitalia involves a scene in which Carrie's friend, Kyra, reprehends her toddler son while talking on the phone with Carrie:

EXAMPLE 3.

Kyra: *Milo! Pants stay on! I'm serious. **Penises** stay in the bathroom.*

- FI DVD: Milo! Housut jalkaan! **Pippelit** pysyvät kylppärissä. [Milo! Put your pants on! Weenies stay in the bathroom.]
- PL DVD: Milo! Założ majtki! Mówię poważnie. **Penisy** zostają w łazience. [Milo! Put your pants on! I'm serious. Penises stay in the bathroom.]
- FI TV: Housut jalkaan! **Penisten** paikka on kylppärissä.[Put your pants on! Penises belong in the bathroom!]
- PL TV: Milo! Nie wolno chodzić z **ptaszkiem** na wierzchu! [Milo! Do not walk around with your weenie showing!]

In the above example, the term *penis* has been mitigated in FI DVD and PL TV and translated directly in PL DVD and FI TV. In these cases the mitigation seems purposeful as the milder terms certainly are not shorter than the original one, and are therefore unlikely to result from time or space constraints. It seems that the reason for moderation was that the translators considered the word *penis* inappropriate in a situation in which a mother is talking to a child about his genitalia. Both FI DVD and PL TV used **baby talk** terms: *pippeli* and *ptaszek* (which is a diminutive form of the word *ptak*=bird). Whether these choices are justified is a different matter, since *penis* is a neutral, medical, term and not even a vulgarism.

When it comes to the most taboo category in the Finnish translations, according to the percentages, it is **category 3b – references to extramarital sex and relationships**, with 22.2 per cent of references mitigated. It was also the third most mitigated category in the Polish versions. What is interesting is that most of these mitigations occur during episode 13 which features 13 occurrences of the word *lover* or compound words including *lover*, such as *Loverville*, *lover-perfect*, *lover-ready*. This episode is mainly about Carrie and Aleksandr Petrovsky, a much older Russian artist, with whom she only wants to have casual sex without falling in love or commitment. When Carrie tells her friends about it, they seem sceptical about the age difference and about keeping a lover, in general. There are big discrepancies in how these references have been treated in the four translations: in Finnish translations 6 (DVD) and 1 (TV) out of the 13 occurrences were mitigated, whereas in the Polish translations the corresponding numbers are 2 and 9. Most of the mitigations have been done by omitting the reference to *lover* completely, like in example 4 below:

EXAMPLE 4.

Carrie: *He is in his **lover-perfect** early fifties.*

FI DVD: Hän on vähän päälle 50. [He is little over 50.]

PL DVD: Jest w idealnym dla **kochanka** wieku, lekko po

pięćdziesiątce. [He is at an ideal age for a lover, slightly over fifty.]

FI TV: **Rakastajani** on sopivassa viidenkymppin iässä. [My lover is at a suitable age of fifty.]

PL TV: Niedawno skończył 50 lat. [He turned 50 recently.]

In this example, the word *lover* was omitted in FI DVD and PL TV, but translated directly in the remaining two versions. This might indicate **deliberate toning down** of the reference to premarital, purely sexual, relationship, the kind of which are usually condemned by religion. However, as most of the 13 references were uttered almost successively, it is possible that the omissions were done in order to **avoid repetition**. Also, the Finnish (*rakastaja*, or *rakastavaiset* for *lovers* in plural) and Polish (*kochanek*) words for *lover* are longer than the English one, which could cause the need to condense. In some of the Finnish translations, *lover* has been replaced by personal pronoun *hän* (English *he*) or by demonstrative pronoun *se* (English *it*), e.g. *Uncomfortable with my taking a lover?* = *Vaivaako se sinua?* [*Does it bother you?*]. What does not support the theory about spatial constraints is the fact that these abbreviations were used in FI DVD whereas the same utterances – except for one case – were translated in FI TV using the longer word *rakastaja* which means that it was possible to do.

References to *lover* were also mitigated using a third method. Some of the translations were classified as mitigated because references to a purely sexual, extramarital, relationship were **substituted** with more indirect and morally accepted notions such as love, bed, or heaven. According to the MOT dictionary, *lover* translates into Finnish either as *rakastaja* or *rakastavainen*. MOT defines *rakastaja* either as the male partner in sexual intercourse, or a man who is in a premarital or extramarital sexual relationship with a woman. *Rakastavainen* or *rakastavaiset* in plural, means two people who love each other erotically. In Polish the accurate equivalent would be *kochanek*. These words are the ones that would be most loyal to the original, because in the context of Carrie's and Petrovsky's situation in the discussed episode, their relationship is purely sexual, which was also clearly emphasized by Carrie multiple times (e.g. *The only place this is going is Loverville*). Therefore, translations which let the viewer think that they were in love change the character of the whole situation – not to mention watering down the wordplays involving *lover*. One such example is presented in example 5. In this case, *Loverville* is mitigated in FI DVD and translated directly in the remaining three versions:

EXAMPLE 5.

Carrie: *Turns out I'd found a sweet bed and breakfast in **Loverville**.*

FI DVD: Löysin **rakkauden kylästä** mukavan peti ja puuro –paikan. [I found a nice bed and breakfast at the village of love.]

- PL DVD: Okazało się, że **Kochankowo** to przytulny hotel ze śniadaniem.
[Loverville turned out to be a comfortable hotel with breakfast.]
- FI TV: Löysin mukavan aamiaismajoituksen **Rakastajalasta**. [I found a
nice bed and breakfast in Loverville.]
- PL TV: Po upojnej nocy, **kochanek** zrobił mi śniadanie. [After an
intoxicating night, my lover made me breakfast.]

Nevertheless, even though the references to *lover* make an interesting case of study, it must be emphasized that – despite the high percentage of mitigated references from this category – category 3b cannot be **generalized** when it comes to Finland. Not only does it seem unlikely even from a regular viewer's perspective that extramarital relationships should be somehow taboo in modern Finland, but there also qualitative reasons which speak against it, such as the avoidance of repetition and need to condense, as well as the fact that most of these mitigations appear in one episode, i.e. they were translated by one translator.

When it comes to intensified translations, As was already mentioned in subchapter 5.1., the situation with **intensified** translations is more complex. First of all, they appear in the research material in much lower numbers than direct and mitigated translations, and the quantitative results regarding intensification were found not to be statistically significant.

As can be seen from tables 12 and 13, there were only 18 such cases in the Finnish translations and 9 in the Polish ones. The highest percentage of intensified translations is **12.5 per cent**, whereas the highest percentage in mitigations amounts to over 50 per cent. It occurs in category 3c, **sexual health issues**, and can be found in the Finnish versions. According to percentages, the most intensified category in Polish versions is **male genitalia** with **3.6** per cent of intensified occurrences. Numerically, the category with the highest number of intensifications for both countries is category 2a, references to sexual intercourse.

Table 12: Intensification according to countries

Semantic category	FI (DVD+TV)	PL (DVD+TV)	Total:
1a - References to male genitalia	1	1	2
1b - References to female genitalia	0	0	0
2a - References to sexual intercourse	14	5	19
2b - References to additional sexual practices	1	3	4
3a - References to sex industry	0	0	0
3b - References to extramarital sex and relationships	0	0	0
3c - References to sexual health issues	2	0	2
3d - References to other cases	0	0	0
Total:	18	9	27

Table 13: Percentages of intensified references according to countries

Semantic category	FI (DVD+TV)	PL (DVD+TV)	Out of:
1a - References to male genitalia	3.6 %	3.6 %	28
1b - References to female genitalia	0	0	12
2a - References to sexual intercourse	7.1 %	2.5 %	198
2b - References to additional sexual practices	0.8 %	2.5 %	118
3a - References to sex industry	0	0	34
3b - References to extramarital sex and relationships	0	0	36
3c - References to sexual health issues	12.5 %	0	16
3d - References to other cases	0	0	28

Looking at the percentages, Finnish and Polish versions seem to agree on the intensification of one category, references to male genitalia, as both have intensified 3.6 per cent of such references. Finnish versions contain intensifications in **4 out of 8** semantic categories, whereas Polish versions only intensified references from **3** categories. Both countries intensified references to male genitalia, sexual intercourse and additional sexual practices, and Finnish versions additionally intensified references to sexual health issues which was, in fact, the category with the highest percentage of intensifications altogether. Based on the quantitative results, even though they are not statistically significant, it is safe to say that **sexual health issues** are not taboo for Finnish translators, since they have not mitigated any such references, but instead have intensified 12.5 per cent of them. These

references seem to be slightly more taboo for Polish translators, with 6.5 per cent of references mitigated and zero intensified.

From a qualitative point of view, intensified translations found in the research material provide with interesting observations. Intensifications were not included in the original research hypotheses, but the first assumption about the purpose of this strategy was that it is used to **compensate** for mitigated sexual references. The idea was that translators might try to compensate for the missing sexual elements by making other sexual references more daring than in the original. This assumption was inspired by Delia Chiaro's findings: she found in her study that this was the case in the Italian translation of SATC (2007: 265–267), although there were only two such occurrences. In Chiaro's study, both compensations involved using a more powerful term for male genitalia. Chiaro concludes that those cases were compensations because references to male genitalia were often mitigated throughout the Italian translation.

In the present study, however, there are more intensifications than in the Italian study and they also occur in more semantic categories. Chiaro's assumption does not seem to fit these translations, since – as can be seen from table 1 – there are in fact more intensifications in FI DVD and FI TV, which include fewer mitigations, than in PL DVD or PL TV which have the highest number of mitigations (even if the differences are rather small). One could assume that the need to compensate is bigger where there is more to compensate for. The only way to determine the purpose of intensifications with certainty

would be through translator interviews, yet based on the research material alone it seems most likely that compensation is not the main purpose, or at least not the only purpose, of intensifications in these translations.

Another theory is that intensifications are used to make the sexual content **more explicit or vulgar**. If this was the case, there should be more intensified translations in Finnish versions than in the Polish ones, since the more liberal Finland was expected to have a more liberal moral code with a larger tolerance for vulgarity in media. The quantitative results seem to support this theory, as the number of intensified references is bigger in Finnish versions than in the Polish ones.

A classic case of intensification is presented in example 6. The girls are having lunch and Miranda's baby, Brady, is also with them. When looking for a dummy in Brady's diaper bag, Miranda finds a pack of condoms in its pocket. The other girls start making fun of it while shocked Miranda explains that the condoms must belong to her ex-boyfriend Steve, Brady's dad. The fact that he would need condoms in a diaper bag makes the girls wonder about Steve's active sex life. Carrie wonders if he even has sex at the children's store (Gymboree is a chain of stores selling children's clothes and toys worldwide).

EXAMPLE 6.

Carrie: *Do they **do it** at Gymboree?*

FI DVD: **Naivatko** he lastenvaatekaupassa? [Do they fuck at a children's store?]

PL DVD: **Robią to** w Smyku? [Do they do it in Smyk?]

(*Smyk is a Polish chain of children's stores)

FI TV: Vauvajumpassako he **sekstaavat**? [Do they have sex at the baby gym?]

PL TV: **Robią to** w kojcu? [Do they do it in the playpen?]

In this example, the **euphemistic expression** *do it* was intensified in the FI DVD and FI TV versions. In FI DVD it is replaced with a vulgar term *naida*, which is the equivalent of the verb *fuck* in English. In FI TV, on the other hand, the reference is replaced with the term *sekstata*, which is a colloquial equivalent for *harrastaa seksiä* (= *to have sex*). It can be regarded as a more direct term than *do it* since it clearly includes the word *sex* in it. Both Polish translations follow the English language version and use a euphemistic term. However, it seems that the Finnish translators' intention was to say things more directly. English language – especially American English – is well known for its use of euphemisms and striving to political correctness which involves saying e.g. *to use the restroom* instead of *going to the toilet*. It also applies to sexual references as can be seen when searching sexual euphemisms in an online search machine: there are long lists of popular

euphemisms used for sex-related issues. Euphemisms exist in all cultures, without a doubt, but they are rather uncharacteristic for Finnish culture, which gives more value to being concise and explicit. Another reason might be that euphemisms would simply be too long for subtitles – especially since Finnish is a language with long words. The corresponding euphemistic translation in this case would be *Harrastavatko he sitä lastenvaatekaupassa?*, which might not fit within the space and time constraints of DVD or TV subtitles.

It is also possible that the translators use intensifications as a means of artistic input, for example to **emphasize the atmosphere of a dialogue or nature of a character**. Example 7 is an excerpt from a scene following the events discussed in example 6. Miranda is having a heated conversation with Steve regarding the diaper bag condoms. She accuses Steve of being an unfit parent because he focuses more on his love life than on Brady. In the heat of the moment she also ends up questioning his sexual activeness:

EXAMPLE 7.

Miranda: *How much **sex** are you **having**?*

FI DVD: Miten usein **harrastat sitä**? [How often do you do it?]

PL DVD: Tak często **uprawiasz seks**? [Do you have sex so often?]

- FI TV: Ihan yhtenäänkö te **rakastelette**? [Do you make love all the time?]
- PL TV: Aż tak często musisz się **bzykać**? [Do you have to fuck that often?]

In this case it is the Polish translations that are more direct, and both Finnish ones have been mitigated. PL DVD is translated using direct translation, whereas PL TV has even been intensified. The verb *bzykać* is a vulgar expression for having sex. It seems like the translator of PL TV wanted to emphasize Miranda's anger and jealousy by using more vulgar words. The decision to rephrase the sentence using the term *bzykać* is unlikely to result from technical reasons, such as the **need to compress**, since in this case the more standard translation equivalent for the original reference would have been the one used in PL DVD and it is actually shorter than the translation used in PL TV.

5.3. Comparison of translation strategies according to media

Another **hypothesis** of the study was that there would be more mitigated translations in the TV translations of SATC than in DVD translations, due to the wider viewership of TV

programmes compared to DVD releases. As can be seen from tables 14 and 15 below, the overall results confirm this hypothesis. There are more mitigated translations in TV versions than in DVD versions (X^2 -test $p= 0.022$). The result is statistically significant. Mitigated translations account for 23.2 per cent of all translations of sexual references in TV versions, in comparison with DVD versions in which 17.2 per cent of sexual references were translated using mitigation.

Table 14: Distribution of translation strategies according to media

Translation strategy	DVD (PL + FI)	TV (PL + FI)	Total:
Direct	379	344	723
Mitigated	81	109	190
Intensified	10	17	27
Total:	470	470	940

Table 15: Distribution of translation strategies according to media in per cents

Translation strategy	DVD (PL + FI)	TV (PL + FI)
Direct	80.6 %	73.2 %
Mitigated	17.2 %	23.2 %
Intensified	2.1 %	3.6 %
Total 100% =470	100 %	100 %

It is also not surprising that there were more direct translations in the DVD translations than in the TV translations. What is interesting, however, is that in the media comparison presented in table 14 the media with the highest number of mitigations, i.e. television, also has the highest number of intensifications. This suggests that intensifications in the TV versions may have been used as compensations, as was discussed in section 5.2. Differences and similarities of intensifications between the two types of media will be discussed further in this section.

If one looks at the **use of translation strategies and the media separately** in each of the countries (see tables 1 and 2), it can be seen that the above mentioned hypothesis is not confirmed in both of them. **In Finland**, the actual situation is opposite to what is assumed in the hypothesis: there are more mitigated translations in the DVD version than in the TV version (39 to 33), and more direct translations in the TV version than on DVD (191 versus 189). There are also more intensified translations in the TV version than on DVD. Thus, it seems that in Finland the television translation is more liberal than the DVD version. The question that remains unanswered is whether these differences actually reflect differences in translation conventions or instructions regarding taboo elements between the two media, or whether it is a dependant on the individual taste of translators. What needs to be noticed, however, is that the differences between TV and DVD in Finland are rather small. The result is not statistically significant (X^2 -test $p= 0.4967$).

When it comes to **Polish translations**, the hypothesis is confirmed. There are more mitigated references in the TV translation (76) than on DVD (42), and more direct translations on DVD (190) than in TV (153). The result is statistically highly significant (X^2 -test $p= 0.0006$). It appears that in Poland the difference between media is clearly bigger than in Finland. Also, unlike in the Finnish translations, in the Polish translations there are more intensified references in the version with the larger number of mitigations, i.e. in the TV version (6 intensifications) than in the DVD version (3). All things considered, it appears that in Poland the more liberal media with regard to translating sexual references is DVD.

In order to see the differences and similarities between taboos in the two types of media, one has to look at the use of mitigation in semantic categories. As can be seen from tables 15 and 16, the TV translations have mitigated references in all 8 semantic categories, whereas the DVD translations only have them in 7 categories. The exception is category 3c, **sexual health issues**, which also happens to be the least mitigated category for the TV translations, with only 1 occurrence out of 16 mitigated.

There are, in general, much more similarities between the media than between the two countries. In addition to the least mitigated category, DVD and TV translations also agree when it comes to the two most taboo categories. For both DVD and TV the most mitigated category is 1b, **female genitalia**, with **33.3 per cent** of such occurrences mitigated in DVD translations and **41.7 per cent** in TV translations, whereas the second most mitigated

category for both is 3b, **extramarital relationships and sex**. In addition, the second least taboo category for both media is category 1a, **male genitalia**.

Table 15: Mitigation according to media

Semantic category	DVD (FI+PL)	TV (FI+PL)	Total:
1a - References to male genitalia	3	2	5
1b - References to female genitalia	4	5	9
2a - References to sexual intercourse	35	38	73
2b - References to additional sexual practices	18	31	49
3a - References to sex industry	7	10	17
3b - References to extramarital sex and relationships	8	12	20
3c - References to sexual health issues	0	1	1
3d - References to other cases	6	9	15
Total:	81	108	189

Table 16: Percentages of mitigated references according to media

Semantic category	DVD (FI+PL)	TV (FI+PL)	Out of:
1a - References to male genitalia	10.7 %	7.1%	28
1b - References to female genitalia	33.3 %	41.7 %	12
2a - References to sexual intercourse	17.7 %	19.2 %	198
2b - References to additional sexual practices	15.2 %	26.3 %	118
3a - References to sex industry	20.6 %	29.4 %	34
3b - References to extramarital sex and relationships	22.2 %	33.3 %	36

3c - References to sexual health issues	0	6.2 %	16
3d - References to other cases	21.4 %	32.1 %	28
Total:	81	108	

What is interesting is that when one looks at the percentages of occurrences that have been mitigated in each version and each category (see table 5), it appears that the two categories that could have been expected to be the most taboo, i.e. **additional sexual practices (2b) and references to sex industry (3a)**, actually are in the middle level of taboo. However, as was expected, these references have been mitigated more often in the Polish translations than in the Finnish, and clearly the most in the Polish TV voice-over. Many examples connected with these two semantic categories work as interesting examples of different kinds of mitigations that can be found in the research material.

Apart from obvious moderation, spacial constraints and avoidance of repetition, which were discussed in the country comparison, there are also other possible explanations that need to be considered. One of them is **misunderstanding**. Many of the references in the research material are based on vulgarisms, e.g. related to homosexual people, and wordplays, which may at times prove hard to translate. An example of a possible misunderstanding of slang appears in a scene taken from episode 17. Anthony, Charlotte's flamboyant homosexual friend, is helping Charlotte groom her dog backstage of a dog show. He is disappointed because he has not met any interesting homosexual men, which

he was counting on when agreeing to assist Charlotte. He complains that instead of sexy, muscular gays, there are only obese elderly women or old, snobbish gay men:

EXAMPLE 8.

Anthony: *(With all these faggy dogs, you'd think there'd be one circuit muscle gay.) Nothing but boxy thick-legged ladies and tweedy old **queens**.*

FI DVD: Pelkkiä paksujalkaisia naisia ja tiukkapipo-**hinttejä**. [Only thick-legged women and tight-ass fags.]

PL DVD: Same krótkonogie babcie albo stare, napuszone **cioty**. [Only short-legged grannies or old, pompous fags.]

FI TV: Pelkkiä paksupohkeisia tätejä ja vanhoja **hinaajia**. [Only thick-legged aunties and old fags.]

PL TV: Tu są jedynie wychudzone **suki**. [There are only emaciated bitches.]

Whereas the reference to gay men was translated directly in FI DVD, PL DVD, and FI TV, it appears that the translator of PL TV either has not understood the slang meaning of the word *queen*, which means an effeminate male homosexual, or he has censored it on purpose. The whole utterance has been shortened and the sexual reference has been replaced with the word *suki* (eng. 'bitches'). Taking into consideration the context of the sentence, the translator could use the term *bitches* to refer to female dogs, however, it can also refer to mean women since the action takes place at a dog show which is a very competitive environment and one usually associated with women. Thus, because of the translator's choice, the whole message of the utterance has been changed and become unclear. This case is a good example of what can be regarded as **self-censorship**. Basically, translators can become self-censors if they decide to change or replace elements which they consider harmful or not politically correct, but Lung (1998) as cited in Scandura (2004) suggests that it is also regarded self-censorship when a translator mistranslates such references because of his unawareness of idioms, sexual connotations, slang, etc.

This being said, it is only fair to point out that some mitigations in the research material might also be caused by **linguistic issues**. Some of the references were difficult or even impossible to translate loyally, because the original reference relied on a wordplay, idiom or fixed phrase, for which there was no equivalent in Finnish or Polish, or the equivalent did not include a sexual reference. It can be concluded from the research material that references to **oral sex** are particularly difficult to translate loyally into Finnish and Polish.

The reason for this is that fellatio, or *blow job* as it is referred to in slang, is often alluded to using the word *job*, whereas the corresponding slang terms in Finnish (*suihinotto* lit.transl. ‘taking into mouth’, or *ottaa poskeen*, lit. ‘to take into cheek’) and Polish (*obciagać* lit.transl. ‘to pull down’, or *robić loda* lit. ‘to make an ice-cream’) are not connected to *job* at all. Example 9 demonstrates one such case. In the same dog show scene that was being referred to in example 8, disappointed and bored Anthony is shown drying Charlotte’s dog’s fur with a blow dryer. He is complaining about how he had had different expectations about the day at the dog show:

EXAMPLE 9.

Anthony: *This was not the type of **blow job** I hoped for.*

FI DVD: En minä tällaista **hoitoa** toivonut. [This is not the kind of treatment I was hoping for.]

PL DVD: Nie chodziło mi o takie **dmuchanie**. [This is not the kind of blowing I was thinking of.]

FI TV: Olin ajatellut vähän toisenlaista **puuhaa** tälle päivälle. [I had a different kind of job in mind for today.]

PL TV: Nie o takie **dmuchanie** mi chodziło. [This is not the kind of blowing I was thinking of.]

The original reference takes advantage of the verbal analogue between blowing hair and the slang expression for fellatio. All four translations were classified as mitigations, because – although they manage to deliver some kind of reference to sex – what they refer to is regular sexual intercourse which is less taboo than oral sex. What must be said, though, is that – judging outside the study and considering the circumstances – the translators made a good effort to combine the beauty care and the double-minded reference. The Finnish word *hoito* means ‘care’ or ‘treatment’ in standard language, and it is used in slang to refer to a one-night stand or sex without commitment, or to a person with whom one has such sex. The translator of FI TV translated the sexual reference with the term *petipuuhat*. In standard Finnish, the word *puuha* means a chore or job, but it is used in slang to refer to an intercourse. In the above example, *puuha* is combined with the word *peti*, meaning ‘bed’.

As for the Polish translations, *dmuchanie* means ‘blowing’ in standard language, but it is also used in slang specifically to refer to a man having sex with a woman. It is possible that the translators used the slang word incorrectly because they thought that it can be used to describe any kind of sex. However, in this study this translation cannot be regarded as direct translation, although it contains a reference to the act of blowing and to sex. In the

series, Anthony is very openly gay and therefore making him use a term which is connected to heterosexual sex can be regarded as an attempt to moderate homosexuality, and it can also **confuse the viewers**.

Apart from confusing the viewer, in some cases mitigation can also result in **alteration of characters and atmosphere**. As is well known, vulgarisms are often used in verbal communication to emphasize one's feelings, e.g. humour or anger. The use or lack of use of taboo language is often a distinctive characteristic of film and television characters and their style. If vulgarisms are left out or watered down in the translation, it can make a rough sailor come across like a judge with a university diploma, or make a heated street brawl appear like a civilised exchange of views between friends. A case of alteration of atmosphere is demonstrated in example 10. Miranda meets her ex-boyfriend, Robert, on the staircase of the building they both live in. Robert is angry at her because she changed her mind and left him to get back together with her ex-boyfriend. Robert takes his anger out on Miranda and accuses her of using him for sex:

EXAMPLE 10.

Robert: *(Hey, it's cool. I got your scene. You're a busy, working mother.) Too tired to cook, call Hunan Kitchen. Too tired to go out and **fuck**, call Robert.*

- Miranda: (That`s not true.)
- Robert: Sure it is. Fast food, **fast fuck**.
- FI DVD: Et ehdi kokata, tilaat kiinalaista. [You don`t have time to cook, you order Chinese.].
- Et ehdi ulos**, soitat Robertille. [You don`t have time to go out, you call Robert.]
- On. Pikaruokaa, **pikapanoja**. [Yes it is. Fast food, fast fucks.]
- PL DVD: Jesteś głodna – dzwonicz po chińską, **jak chcesz się bzykać** – do Roberta. [You`re hungry – you call for Chinese, you want to fuck – you call Robert.]
- Szybkie jedzenie, **szybki seks**. [Fast food, fast sex.]
- FI TV: Kun **panettaa** soitat Robertille. [When you feel like fucking, you call Robert.]
- Pikaruokaa, **pikapanoja**. [Fast food, fast fucks.]
- PL TV: Zamiast chodzić **na podryw**, dzwonicz do Roberta. [Instead of going out for a pick-up, you call Robert.]
- Szybki posiłek, **szybki numerek**. [Fast meal, fast quickie.]

The first *fuck* was translated directly in FI TV and PL DVD, but mitigated in FI DVD and PL TV. Translator of FI DVD omitted the reference to sex completely, whereas in PL TV it was replaced with a much milder term *podryw* which means a flirt. The second reference, *fast fuck*, was translated directly in FI DVD and FI TV, but mitigated in both Polish versions. In PL DVD the vulgar *fuck* is replaced with a neutral term *seks*, whereas in PL TV it is moderated to a more comic term *numerek*, which is an equivalent of English *quickie*. In this example the mitigations affect the nature of the whole conversation. Robert is hurt and bitter because he had been left by Miranda, therefore his choice of strong words such as *fuck* is most likely intentional because he wants to hurt Miranda. Replacing the terms with milder ones dilute the argument and thus interfere excessively with the storyline and atmosphere. When reading the mitigated translation it seems obvious that the translators moderated the vulgarisms deliberately as there was no room for misunderstandings.

Nevertheless, as unpleasant and misleading as such toned down translations can be, some of them still convey the sexuality in most parts. However, in the worst case scenario, mistranslated or untranslated sexual references can result in **stripped-down utterances**, which are entirely dependant on the picture to be understood. Example 11 presents one such case. The context of the utterance presented in this example is as follows: Samantha overhears two young PR-girls gossiping about the nature of her and Smith's relationship.

They imply that Smith is a homosexual who only uses Samantha to cover up his real orientation. Samantha is worried that the gossip might undermine her sexual reputation. She wants to clarify the situation and decides to film a sex video with Smith. The video is then sent to the two PR-girls in the hopes that they will spread the intended gossip about Smith being strictly heterosexual.

EXAMPLE 11.

Carrie (narrator): *The next day, two PR girls got an anonymous **Triple-X** from FedEx.*

FI DVD: Seuraavana päivänä kaksi PR-tyttöä sai nimettömän **seksivideon**. [The next day, two PR-girls got an anonymous sex tape.]

PL DVD: I tak dwie młode PR-ówki dostały przesyłkę **”Tylko dla dorosłych”**. [And so, two PR-girls got an „Adults only” delivery.]

FI TV: Seuraavana päivänä kaksi PR-tyttöä sai **pikapostia**. [The next day, two PR-girls got an express delivery.]

PL TV: Nazajutrz, FedEx dostarczył dwóm smarkulom **tajemnicze nagranie**. [The next day, FedEx brought two brats a mysterious tape.]

In this utterance, the sexual reference is *Triple-X* which is a euphemism for pornographic films, or more specifically to adult film rating XXX. It is used in the original sentence to refer to the sex tape filmed by Samantha. The choice of the term *Triple-X* is significant, as it adds humour to the utterance by taking advantage of wordplay with the name of the delivery company, *FedEx*. While it is obvious that the wordplay was virtually impossible to retain in Finnish and Polish translations, one could expect that the reference to pornography would be conveyed. However, it was only translated directly in the DVD translations. Instead, both TV translations mitigated the reference to the content of the tape. In FI TV, the translator referred to the tape vaguely as ‘express delivery’ (*pikapostia*), whereas the translator of PL TV translated it as ‘mysterious tape’ (*tajemnicze nagranie*).

Therefore, in the cases of the television translations, if the viewer would only rely on the translations – in Poland he does not even have much choice because the original soundtrack can hardly be heard – or was not fully attentive during earlier scenes, he would most likely miss the point of the FedEx delivery and the absurdity of the situation. This is yet another example proving that toning down taboo language can have far-reaching effects. Obviously, as was stated before in this study, without translator interviews it is

difficult to say with certainty whether these mitigations were intentional or whether they e.g. result from misunderstanding of culture-bound reference, or lack of better ideas.

When it comes to comparison of **intensifications** between the media, the results collated in tables 17 and 18 lead to the same conclusion as in the case of the country comparison: the use of this translation strategy is very scarce in the research material, and therefore the research material does not provide quantitatively sufficient data for a statistically significant analysis. Certain educated guesses can, however, still be made. As can be seen from the tables below, the TV versions contain more intensifications than the DVD versions. Also, there are intensifications from more semantic categories in the TV versions, i.e. from 4 out of 8 categories, than in the DVD translations (3 out of 8).

Occurrences from four semantic categories have not been intensified in any of the translations: references to female genitalia, sex industry, extramarital relationships and sex, and other cases. In addition to these categories, DVD translations also do not contain any intensifications from category 1a, male genitalia. Interesting enough, in the TV translations this very category is the second most intensified category.

For both DVD and TV translations, the most intensified category measured in percentages is **2b, additional sexual practices**, with 11.1 per cent of occurrences translated by using intensification. Numerically, the most intensified category for both DVD and TV translations is the one that is most abundant in the research material, i.e. 2a, references to

sexual intercourse. Apart from these similarities, the two media also agree on the number of intensifications from category 3c, sexual health issues.

Table 17: Intensification according to media

Semantic category	DVD (FI+PL)	TV (FI+PL)	Total:
1a - References to male genitalia	0	2	2
1b - References to female genitalia	0	0	0
2a - References to sexual intercourse	7	12	19
2b - References to additional sexual practices	2	2	4
3a - References to sex industry	0	0	0
3b - References to extramarital sex and relationships	0	0	0
3c - References to sexual health issues	1	1	2
3d - References to other cases	0	0	0
Total:	10	17	27

Table 18: Percentages of intensified references according to media

Semantic category	DVD (FI+PL)	TV (FI+PL)	Out of:
1a - References to male genitalia	0	7.1 %	28
1b - References to female genitalia	0	0	12
2a - References to sexual intercourse	3.5 %	6.1 %	198
2b - References to additional sexual practices	11.1 %	11.1 %	118
3a - References to sex industry	0	0	34
3b - References to extramarital sex and relationships	0	0	36

3c - References to sexual health issues	6.2 %	6.2 %	16
3d - References to other cases	0	0	28
Total:	10	17	

As the intensifications are so scarce quantitatively, they prove to be more interesting when observed from a qualitative perspective. Two examples of intensifications were already discussed within the country comparison. The case presented below in example 12 is interesting in that it is one of the three references which were **intensified simultaneously** in more than one version. It also shows that in some cases intensifications can occur out of necessity, e.g. when the original reference is based on a wordplay that is difficult or even impossible to transfer to the target language.

The sexual reference in this example is occurs in a situation when Carrie and the girls discuss the affair between her and her significantly older lover, Aleksandr Petrovsky. Carrie wonders if the uncommitted affair could even become anything more serious as Petrovsky is constantly out of town on business trips:

EXAMPLE 12.

Carrie: *(He's in and out of Europe.)*

Charlotte: *(That could be good.)*

Samantha: *She only wants him **in and out of her**.*

FI DVD: (Hän on koko ajan tulossa ja menossa. [He's coming and going all the time.])

(Matkustelu on hyvä juttu. [Travelling is a good thing.])

Carriekin haluaisi välillä **tulla**. [Carrie would also like to come from time to time.]

PL DVD: (Cały czas lata do Europy. [He flies to Europe all the time.])

(To może być dobre. [That can be a good thing.])

Chce z nim **latać** tylko **do łóżka**. [She only wants to run to bed with him.]

FI TV: (Hän ravaa yhtenäin Euroopassa. [He runs around Europe all the time.])

(Se voi olla hyvä. [That can be good.])

Carrie haluaa pelkkää **seksiä**. [Carrie only wants sex.]

PL TV: (Często lata do Europy. [He often flies to Europe.])

(Cudownie. [Wonderful.])

Ona chce tylko, żeby ją **przeleciał**. [She only wants him to screw her.]

In the English version, the sexual reference is allusive and takes advantage of the fixed expression *in and out of*, which can be used to refer to frequent or repetitive visits and stays, and to sexual penetration. A similar analogy can be achieved in Finnish as was done by the translator of the Finnish DVD version. He translated the reference directly, using the expression *olla tulossa ja menossa* which means literally ‘to be coming and going’, and thus includes both a reference to movement and sexual intercourse or, to be accurate – orgasm (*tulla* = ‘to come’). The reference was also translated using direct translation in the PL DVD version. The translator used the verb *latać* which literally means ‘to fly’ or ‘to run (around)’. This choice allowed the translator to maintain reference to flying and the connection between the first and the third sentence.

Unlike in the DVD translations, the sexual reference was made much more direct and obvious in both TV translations than what it was in the original. In FI TV, the translator translated the sexual reference in the third utterance with a very blunt ‘Carrie only wants sex’. While this solution certainly makes the sexual reference more clear, it does nothing to preserve the analogy between the first and the third utterance, as it has no connection to flying or movement. As a result, not only does the translated scene lack wordplay, but the

sentences also seem somewhat disconnected. On the other hand, what can be said in defense of the translator, the utterance containing the sexual reference was said by Samantha who in the series is a very uninhibited person, and thus it can be argued that the intensified and blunt translation fits her character.

In PL TV, the intensification was performed somewhat differently. The first sentence contains the reference to flying (*latać*), whereas the sexual reference in the third sentence is translated with the verb *przelecieć* which not only is the perfect verb form of *latać* but is also used in slang to refer to sexual intercourse (the American English equivalent would be 'to screw'). By using this term, the translator managed to retain the wordplay and made the sexual reference more direct and much stronger than the original. Whatever opinion one might have regarding the use of such interfering strategies as intensification, in comparison with the translation solution used in FI TV, the one in PL TV appears to be better because it conveys the sexuality and retains text cohesion. What it has in common with FI TV is that in both versions the translated line manages to fit the style of the character, which is, unquestionably, a significant benefit.

6. CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

The aim of this study was to examine the translation strategies of sexual references with regards to the nature of censorship in the Finnish and Polish audiovisual translations of American television series, *Sex and the City* (or: SATC). This subject was chosen because it is an interesting and somewhat controversial topic, and yet it has not been studied as an independent subject in Finland. Another reason was that this particular research material not only was abundant in sexual references but also offered the author the opportunity to perform **a comparative study** of translation strategies in two different cultures and two media, which was expected to provide audiovisual translators with useful information about conventions in translating. **Poland** was chosen as the point of comparison as it is, on one hand, close to Finland in a geographical sense and also belongs to the European Union, but on the other hand seems morally and religiously clearly more conservative than Finland. It also has a very vivid history of censorship. The results of the performed study will be summarized in subchapter 6.1. and the findings discussed in subchapter 6.2.

6.1. Conclusions

The research material consisted of **235 sexual references**. Thus, there were 235 translations to examine in each of the four audiovisual translations, referred to in the study as FI DVD, PL DVD, FI TV and PL TV. By far the most popular translation strategy in all four translations was **direct translation**, second most popular was **mitigation** and the least popular was **intensification**. Number of cases translated directly in all four translations

simultaneously was 112/235, i.e. 47.7 per cent of all cases. Simultaneous mitigation in all four versions was found only in 6 cases out of 235, whereas intensification was never used in all 4 versions simultaneously, and there were only three cases in which the sexual reference was intensified in two versions at the same time.

When it comes to semantic categories, the most populous categories were **2a – references to sexual intercourse**, with 99 occurrences, and **2b – references to additional sexual practices**, with 59 occurrences. The least numerous semantic group was **1b - female genitalia**, references from which occur in the research material only 6 times. **References to sexual health issues (3c)** were almost as scarce, with just 8 occurrences.

The **first hypothesis** of the study was that since Poland is dominantly and actively Catholic and can thus be expected to be more conservative with regards to sexual content than secular Finland, there would be fewer direct translations and more mitigated translations in the Polish versions of SATC than in the Finnish versions. The collated results regarding the two countries seem to support this hypothesis: out of 470 translations Polish versions had translated 343 cases directly and mitigated 118 mitigated, compared with 380 and 72 in the Finnish versions. Even though no separate translation strategy for omissions was used in the study, it is visible from the analysis of the mitigated references that they have been **censored both quantitatively and qualitatively**.

The **second hypothesis** was that there would be more mitigated references in the television translations than in DVD translations, due to the fact that television as a medium is

available to a wider audience than DVD releases, and therefore explicit expressions may be diluted or even deleted in versions of SATC viewed in television in order to protect the viewers from sexual content. This hypothesis was confirmed by the collated results on the two media: the numbers in direct translation were 379 in DVD vs 344 in TV versions, and 81 vs 109 in mitigation.

However, the second hypothesis was not confirmed in both countries when they were looked at separately. It was confirmed in Poland, where the differences between the media were considerably bigger than in Finland. Interestingly, the difference between media in Poland is as much as 15.7 percentage points on the use of direct translation and 14.4 percentage points on mitigation. It even seems that PL DVD is closer to the Finnish translations than to the Polish television version, as direct translation was used in it to translate over 80 per cent of sexual references, which is closer to Finnish figures than that of PL TV (65.1 %). The similarity of approach can result from the fact that PL DVD, like FI DVD and FI TV, used subtitles, whereas PL TV used voice-over. These findings suggest that censorship does not depend only on the translators' background and culture, but is also a result of instructions and legal regulations affecting the different media and modes of audiovisual translation.

In Finland, the situation was actually opposite than what was proposed in the hypothesis: there were more direct translations in the FI TV and more mitigations in FI DVD. The differences between media in Finland were very small (less than 3 percentage points on the

use of all three strategies), but this result seems reliable in that it is in line with the findings of studies on translation strategies of taboo words such as curse words and insults, performed by Hautala (2002) and Räisänen (2010). These studies also concluded that more taboo words were retained in the Finnish TV translations than in the DVD versions.

Therefore, it seems that in Finnish audiovisual translations sexual references are not treated more strictly than other taboo words. It can also be concluded from the results that the Finnish media are rather unanimous and liberal when it comes to sexual references, as both versions used direct translation in over 80 per cent of the cases. Overall, FI TV was found to be the most direct, i.e. liberal, of the four translations, whereas PL TV was the least direct.

When it comes to **mitigation of different semantic categories**, there was a lot of divergence between the four versions. None of the semantic categories was the most mitigated one in all four versions, but for two at the most. There were two categories which were percentually the most mitigated, and thus most taboo, categories, i.e. 1b - **references to female genitalia** (PL DVD and FI TV) and 3b – **references to extramarital sex and relationships** (FI DVD and PL TV). The translations were somewhat more consistent with regard to the least mitigated category, as category 3c, **sexual health issues**, was the least taboo category for all four versions. Very few cases or none from this category were mitigated in the research material. **References to male genitalia** (1a) were also rarely mitigated.

The third translation strategy, **intensification**, was quantitatively very scarce. It was used to translate only between 1.3 and 4.7 per cent of sexual references, depending on the version, and thus seems to play a marginal role in the research material. The version with the highest number of intensifications was FI TV, while PL DVD had the smallest. Four of the semantic categories, i.e. references to female genitalia (1b), sex industry (3a), extramarital sex and relationships (3b) and other cases (3d), were not intensified in any of the versions. On the other hand, intensified references from category 2a – **references to sexual intercourse** – were found in all four translations. The highest percentage of intensified references was 12.5 and it regarded references from category 3c, **sexual health issues**, found in FI DVD and FI TV.

Since intensifications were so scarce in the research material, it is not possible to make definite conclusions about the reasons why they were applied. Based on the present research material, intensifications might just as well result from **intentional as unintentional** actions. Acquiring more reliable answers would require a larger or more diverse research material, and most importantly, conducting interviews with audiovisual translators which is beyond the scope of the present study.

From a qualitative point of view, certain educated guesses could be made about the use of intensifications. First of all, contrary to what Chiaro (2007) suggested about the Italian dub, intensification is unlikely to have been used as **compensation** – or at least not on a larger scale – in the Finnish and Polish translations. As can be seen from the results, there

were more intensifications in the FI versions which had used less mitigations, than in the PL versions which had used more, and thus, compensating would seem illogical.

In some cases it seemed that intensification was applied to make the sexual reference **more clear or explicit**. This took place e.g. in cases in which the original reference was expressed as a euphemism. This view is supported by the fact that there were more intensifications in the more liberal Finnish translations. In some other cases, intensifications seemed to be used to **emphasize the atmosphere of the scene, or the feelings or attitude of a character**, e.g. in scenes with heated arguments.

As was already mentioned above, there was a clear divide between **PL TV** and the other three audiovisual translations when it comes to mitigation of sexual references. According to the results of this study, PL TV was the version with the smallest share of direct translations and the largest share of mitigated translations. This finding was not surprising, but the question remains what caused this difference? The results of the other three versions prove that it was possible to translate more sexual references directly than what was done in PL TV, implicating that **self-censorship and/or external censorship** may have been involved. What is more, PL TV is the only one of the four which used voice-over instead of subtitling, and voice-over, like dubbing, is by definition easier to subject to censorship as it partly covers the original soundtrack. This could mean that the use of mitigation and translation strategies of taboo expressions, in general, is connected to the mode of audiovisual translation.

Chiaro's findings (2007) on **the Italian television dub of SATC**, including interviews with Italian audiovisual translators and directors, confirmed that self-censorship was indeed imposed on the translations of sexual references in the Italian dub. Chiaro reports that according to Luigi La Monica, the dubbing director of the Italian dub of the fifth and sixths series of SATC, censorship is "completely self-imposed by operators involved in the dubbing process". La Monica also admitted that when he directed dubs of SATC, he himself deliberately moderated taboo elements because "a certain type of strong language is likely to offend Italians". (Chiaro 2007: 260) Additionally, a freelance dubbing translator interviewed by Chiaro, confirmed that instructions regarding how to translate references to sex and expletives come from the television channel who commissions the translation (2007: 261).

Thus, Italian audiovisual translations appear to be influenced by both self-censorship and external censorship. This, in turn, leads to a conclusion that since dubbing and voice-over are similar as translation methods, and since Poland and Italy are both Catholic and morally conservative countries, it is more than likely that Polish TV voice-over of SATC was also submitted to intentional moderation. And, if references to sex have been watered down this much in a voice-over version viewed on a premium channel – as was the case with PL TV – which has a limited viewership, it could mean that translation (-s) used by the Polish public TV channels were even more mitigated. According to Chiaro, SATC underwent significant changes in USA when it was transferred from HBO to mainstream TV channel TBS (2007: 258).

Evidence speaking for the use of **censorship of taboo language in the Polish media** can be found in a study conducted by **Marta Kowalczyk** (2011). Kowalczyk (2011) compared the translation strategies of swearwords in Polish audiovisual translations of American TV series *Californication*, viewed on premium TV channel HBO, commercial channel TVN and on the Polish DVD release of the series. She also conducted an interview with the translators asking them about the translation process regarding profanities and whether they had been influenced by the parties commissioning the translations.

Both translators – Michal Kwiatkowski who translated the TV voice-over for TVN and Artur Nowak who translated the voice-over for HBO and the subtitled DVD version – confirmed that while working on the TV translations they had been bound by both instructions and demands outlined by the clients, as well as binding legal regulations. They had been instructed to “remove or at least significantly soften the vulgar language of the original”. However, both of them emphasized that they made the choices themselves, bearing in mind the networks’ expectations, and their translations were not corrected by anyone. (Kowalczyk 2011: 31.) This indicates the use of **preventive (self-)censorship** rather than repressive.

When it comes to the **translation conventions of taboo expressions and slang** in Finland, Vertanen points out (2004: 132–138) that translators are generally advised to avoid translating coarse language and slang words in subtitles, as profanities often appear much stronger when read (or heard) in one’s native language than in a foreign language, and

because slang may not be understood by all viewers. This being said, it could be argued that read-aloud translations, such as voice-over or dubbing, are actually more dangerous than the written subtitles when it comes to protecting audiences from taboo language. Subtitles are difficult to read by accident and they by definition rule out young children who are illiterate, whereas with the read-aloud translations the risky content can be easily overheard even by walking past the room or flipping through channels. What is more, all versions analysed in the present study were viewed well after children's bedtime, which in itself seems to make censorship groundless.

Despite advising cautious translating of taboo language, Vertanen also emphasizes caution with extreme language moderation, because if e.g. a war film is stripped off expletives, it will also result in a **change in the styles of the characters**. This effect was observed in the current research material, as some of the mitigations were found to have altered the atmosphere of scenes and/or the characters. In SATC, the four main female characters are created to represent different human archetypes and their differences are also reflected in their attitude towards sex and talking about sex. Samantha is by far the most liberal and uninhibited one, while Charlotte is clearly the most traditional and discreet of the four, even verging on prudish. As for Miranda and Carrie, they are somewhere in the middle, depending on the situation. If the translator was to constantly moderate sexual references for example in Samantha's lines, it would disturb the character setting and give the viewer a distorted idea about the characters.

Far-reaching moderations are not undesirable only because they confuse the viewers, but also because they deprive the viewers of the translated version of the possibility to experience the text like it was intended by its creators. In such cases, the audiences that watch translated programmes are not on equal terms with the viewers who understand the source language. What is more, if the viewers of the translated version notice that the picture and the translation do not match, it means that the translation attracts too much attention to itself which **breaks the illusion** that the viewers understand the original language – which, according to Vertanen, is the main objective of audiovisual translating (2004: 132–133).

Aside from purposeful censorship, there are also other possible explanations for the mitigations observed in the present study. When discussing audiovisual translations, one obvious explanation for shortages and alterations are the **constraints**. Normal translations (i.e. without auditive components or moving picture) and audiovisual translations can not be evaluated or compared by the same measures because audiovisual translating is much more limited than “normal” translating, due to time and spatial constraints. Audiovisual translators do not always have the possibility of being loyal to the source text, but have to make compromises in order to get the message across in an intelligible form. Thus, it is also possible that some of the sexual references ended up mitigated as a result of condensing or **avoidance of repetition**, instead of purposeful moral censorship.

Some mitigations can also be caused by simple **misunderstanding**. Even though the sexual references in the research material were mostly rather straightforward, i.e. with obvious equivalents in both target languages, there were also many references which included slang words (e.g. terminology related to homosexual culture, such as *queen* or *fag hag*) or cultural references (e.g. *candy stripper*, *Internal Revenue*, *Triple-X*, *TGI Fuckday*, *KY*), which may have been misinterpreted by the translators. However, as Scandura (2004) points out, mistranslating references because of unawareness of idioms, sexual connotations, slang, etc. can also be regarded self-censorship, and cannot therefore be entirely accepted as a valid excuse.

Another reason behind the mitigations or mistranslations are surely **linguistic differences**. In many cases in the research material the original sexual reference also conveyed verbal humour. Such cases were based on a wordplay, fixed phrase, alliteration, etc. (e.g. *a hard job*, *the customer comes first*, *TGI Fuckday*, *pancakes for pussy*), which either had a double-meaning or which was transformed to contain a sexual connotation. Because of linguistic differences, it is not always possible to find such an equivalent in the target language which would achieve the same effect. However, as the research material shows, many of such cases could still be translated in a way which both retained the sexuality and conveyed humour. Yet, these are probably the trickiest translations to do, and finding a perfectly fitting solution may sometimes be a matter of sheer luck or plenty of time and motivation to think.

6.2. Discussion

This brings us to the much discussed matter of **the inapt working conditions** of audiovisual translators. Low salaries, tight schedules, lack of appreciation, and inaccessibility of source material are all factors that may lead to inadequate translations. If audiovisual translators work underpaid and unappreciated, under pressure of time, they either do not have enough time or interest to devote extra time to look for better translation solutions. There were, in fact, a few translation errors (i.e. factual errors) in some of the studied versions which might reflect such issues.

As can be seen from the results of this study and from the issues discussed in the previous chapters, audiovisual translating is a complex process which is influenced by a variety of factors: **external** – such as linguistic differences, legislation, clients' demands and schedule, pressure connected with the current social climate (i.e. the acceptance of taboo language or phenomena) or technical constraints, and **internal factors** such as the level of the translator's language command, his education and cultural background, or his personal code of ethics. Varied combinations of the above factors result in diverse translations, even within the same type of media or the same country.

This can be seen for example by looking at the present study and the study performed by Kowalczyk (2011). Both translators interviewed by Kowalczyk claimed that they would have included more taboo words in their translations had they given more freedom – which Nowak reported having while working on the DVD translations. Yet, Kowalczyk noticed

very little difference between Nowak's TV translation for HBO and his DVD translation with regard to the use of curse words (2011: 50–51). The results of the present study were different, in that there was a significant difference between the Polish TV translation (which was also viewed on one of the HBO channels) and the Polish DVD translation, as the DVD version included clearly more sexual references than the TV version. This shows exactly why studying translations, and audiovisual translations in particular, is so challenging. Finding waterproof answers is virtually impossible without translator interviews.

To sum up with, it is understandable that not every vulgarism can be included in the translation and that vulgarisms or taboo language should not be an end in itself. Nevertheless, decisions regarding translation strategies of taboo language should be carefully considered and the strategies should be chosen depending on the type of the source text and the role of vulgarisms in that current text. Probably the most negative effect of mitigations of taboo language in SATC is that they **strip the series of humour** that is so important for the series. Many things can be said about the contents of SATC which has been criticised for being shallow and depraved, among other things, but at the same time it has been praised for being well written. This is thanks to the humour which is to a large extent based on word puns, repetitions, allusions and understatements, which in turn are often connected to sexual references. (Scandura 2004: 130) Therefore, if the characters and their lines become bland, the series inevitably loses a part of its charm. This problem

was observed in the United States after SATC was put into syndication and its content was toned down. According to Husain (2007):

“This has dramatically changed the program from being about the intimate details of four women’s lives to being about four women who drink coffee and like shoes. [...] Adults are then left with a watered down version of the show[...].”

To avoid such situations, the topic of taboo language should be given more attention during translator training so as to sensitize future translators to the role of taboo language and to the role of translators as envoys. This being said, it must be noted that sensitivity can also be the reason for some of the observations made in this study. Translation students and scholars obviously have unusually high standards when it comes to the quality of translations, which may lead to exaggeration and **hypersensitivity**. The mitigations might not even be noticed by regular audiences for whom the series is targeted.

Thus, it would be interesting to carry out a survey or **reception study** among regular viewers who are not translation students or professionals to see how they actually respond to the use and lack of use (i.e. mitigation) of taboo language in television and DVD translations. Such a study would bring more insight into the discussion about whether or not it is reasonable to use censorship to protect adult viewers from explicit language. As can be read from Kowalczyk’s study, censorship is often performed very much against the viewers’ will: according to the translator of the HBO version, the viewers had given a lot

of feedback regarding the audiovisual translation of *Californication* and had demanded a more loyal rendition of the profanities (2011: 33).

Another aspect to consider in case of conducting further study on the translation strategies of sexual references, is if the allocation of references according to translation strategies and/or semantic categories ought to be based on **a survey or test group**. This might add objectivity to the study. The scope of the study could for example be extended to sexual references e.g. in Finnish and Polish translations of films or series such as *Transamerica*, *L Word*, *Will and Grace*, or *Queer as Folk* which also deal with sexual taboo issues. The previous five seasons of SATC could also prove to be interesting research material, as they are even more abundant in different sexual phenomena than the sixth season.

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Season 6, episode 8

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APPENDIX

Appendix 1: Table with all 235 cases of sexual references and their translations

no	Sem.cat	ENG DVD	FI DVD	PL DVD	FI TV	PL TV
1	2a	the first time you have sex ,...	Ensi kerta kun <i>harrastaa seksiä</i> ,...	Pierwszy seks,...	Eka kerta sängyssä,	Pierwszy seks, ...
2	2a	...the first time you have good sex...	...ensi kerta <i>kunnon seksiä</i>...	...pierwszy dobry seks...	eka kerta kun seksi luistaa...	...pierwszy udany seks...
3	3c	If what you get doesn't itch , you're fine.	Jos se, mitä saa, ei kutita, kaikki on hyvin.	Bylebyś się tylko nie zaraziła czymś swędzącym.	Kunhan et saa satiaisia, niin kaikki on hyvin.	(Wszystko dokądś prowadzi.) Byleby nie do dermatologa.
4	3c	Who needs a balding man with erectile dysfunction ...	Kuka kaipaa kaljuuntuvaa erektiohäiriöistä miestä...	Komu tarvitaan lysiäjä gość z problemem wzwodu,...	Kuka kaipaa kaljua, impotentia miesystävää, kun voi saada uuden uran ja söpöjä tarjoilijoita.	Na co komu lysiäjący 38-latek z zaburzeniami erekcji, skoro można zrobić karierę?
5	2a	I fucked him.	<i>Nain</i> häntä.	Pieprzyłam się z nim.	Olen nussinut häntä.	Zerznęłam go.
6	2a	It's that waiter from Raw, also known as the best sex I've had in years.	Hän on se Raw'n tarjoilija. Paras pano vuosiin.	To kelner z Surowizny, znany również jako mój najlepszy seks od lat.	Sain häneltä parasta kyytiä vuosiin.	Był tak dobry, że do dzisiaj nikt go nie przebił.
7	3d	Went to bed early, had accidental phone sex with Big.	Menin aikaisin nukkumaan, harrastin puhelinseksiä Bigin kanssa.	Wcześniej się położyłam, miałam seks przez telefon z Bigiem.	Harrastin puhelinseksiä Bigin kanssa.	Uprawiałam z Bigiem seks przez telefon.
8	3c	Isn't the baby birth control enough?	Eikö vauva riitä ehkäisyksi?	Dziecko to najlepsza antykoncepcja.	Eikö lapsi riitä ehkäisyksi?	Nie ufasz tabletkom?
9	2a	Do they do it at Gymboree?	Naivatko he lastenvaatekaupassa?	Robią to w Smyku?	Vauvajumpassako he sekstaavat?	Robią to w kojcu?
10	3a	Debbie Does Day Care?	Debbie hoitelee isukit?	Debbie bawi się w przedszkolankę?	Debbie hoitaa päiväkodin?	*omitted, no translation
11	2b	Honey, relax, I have those in my mouth all the time.	Kulta, ei hätää, minulla on noita suussa koko ajan.	Spokojnie, skarbie. Trzymam je w ustach bez przerwy.	Älä pelästy. Minulla on yhtenään kumi suussa.	Bez obaw, regularnie je podgryzam.
12	2a	At Samantha's, a day of great sex was about to fade into the past.	Samanthan luona upea seksi oli vaarassa luisua menneisyyteen.	U Samantha's dzień świetnego seksu odpływał właśnie w siną dal.	Samanthan asunnolla seksintäyteinen päivä kääntyi iltaan.	Tymczasem Samantha pisała własną historię.
13	2a	As long as he keeps fucking you , what's the problem?	Jos hän vielä panee sinua, niin mitä se haittaa?	Jeśli nadal cię pieprzy, to w czym problem?	Haistatelkoon exälleen, kunhan nai sinua.	I co z tego? Grunt, że to Ciebie posuwa.
14	2a	I fucked that waiter and he got fired.	Nain sitä tarjoilijaa ja hän sai potkut.	Pieprzyłam się z kelnerem i wyleciał z roboty.	Tarjoilija sai potkut, kun naimme juhlista.	Gdy na przyjęciu pieprzyłam kelnera, wylali go z pracy.
15	2a	So I gave him \$300 the next time	Annoin hänelle 300 seuraavan kerran, ja	Więc przy następnej okazji dałam mu	Annoin hänelle kolmesataa taalaa, ja hän	Gdy dałam mu trzy stowy,

		we fucked and he's upset.	hän hermostui.	\$300, a on się obraził.	suuttui.	strzelił focha.
16	3a	In the bedroom it's a big prostitute .	Makuuhuoneessa se on huorarahaa.	W sypialni zrobiłaś z niego żigolaka.	Vuoteessa se on huoraamista.	300 dolarów kojarzy mi się z prostytutką.
17	3c	Trojans.	Kondomeja...	Prezerwatywy.	Kondomeja.	...i gumy.
18	2a	I'm not thrilled our baby is having sex ...	Ikävä, että vauvamme harrastaa seksiä,...	Nasz syn uprawia seks, trudno,...	Poika aloitti seksin liian varhain, ...	Skoro syn uprawia seks, ...
19	3c	...but I'm glad he's protected.	...mutta onneksi se on turvaseksiä.	...ale przynajmniej się zabezpiecza.	...mutta käyttää sentään kumia.	...dobrze że się zabezpiecza.
20	3c	It's just condoms .	Nehän ovat kondomeja.	To tylko gumy.	Mitä nyt parista kondomista.	Tylko prezerwatywy.
21	2a	How much sex are you having ?	Miten usein harrastat sitä?	Tak często uprawiasz seks?	Ihan yhtenäänkö te rakastelette?	Aż tak często musisz się bzykać?
22	1a	When your penis is in a girl's vagina.	Kun peniksesi on jonkun emättimessä.	Trzymając penisa w jej pochwie.	Sitä, kun peniksesi on jonkun vaginassa.	Wsuwasz fiuta w jakąś pannę, ...
23	1b	When your penis is in a girl's vagina .	Kun peniksesi on jonkun emättimessä.	Trzymając penisa w jej pochwie.	Sitä, kun peniksesi on jonkun vaginassa.	Wsuwasz fiuta w jakąś pannę, ...
24	2a	And you're having an orgasm while our baby is quietly suffocating.	Kun sinä saat orgasmin, ja lapsesi tukehtuu hiljaa.	I kiedy masz orgasm, a nasze dziecko się w tym czasie dusi.	Orgasmin hetkellä et huomaa, vaikka lapsesi tukehtuisi.	...spuszczasz się, a dziecko ryczy w pokoju obok.
25	2a	We never do it when he's awake.	Emme tee sitä jos Brady on hereillä.	Robimy to tylko, kiedy śpi.	Emme tee sitä, kun Brady on hereillä.	Nie robimy tego przy nim.
26	2a	When you're a waiter, you must always be aware....that the customer comes first .	Kun on tarjoilija, pitää muistaa...että asiakas tulee aina ensin.	Kelnerki muszą pamiętać o zasadzie....klient nasz pan.	Tarjoilijan on huolehdittava...että asiakkaan tarpeet tyydytetään ensin.	Jako kelnerka muszę dbać...o swoich klientów.
27	2b	It's a hard, hard job .	Se on tosi kovaa työtä.	To bardzo ciężka praca.	Se on kovaa työtä.	Niektórzy stawiają twarde warunki.
28	3d	Oh, God. There goes my hard-on .	Voi luoja. Siinä meni erektio.	O Boże. Od razu mi przeszło.	Nyt minulla lörpahti.	Chyba mi stanął.
29	3d	It's a good thing I still have mine .	Onneksi minulla on jäljellä.	Dobrze, że mnie nie.	Onneksi minulla seisoo vielä.	To dobrze, bo mnie również.
30	2a	Samantha had had many waiters, but to the present day this was her very first Jerry.	Samanthalla oli ollut monta tarjoilijaa, mutta tähän mennessä tämä oli ensimmäinen Jerry.	Samantha spała z wieloma kelnerami, ale to był jej pierwszy Jerry.	Samantha oli hoidellut monia tarjoilijoita, mutta tämä oli hänen ensimmäinen Jerrynsä.	Samantha robiła to już z niejednym kelnerem, ale nigdy dotąd z Jerryem.
31	2a	No, you shut the fuck up and fuck me before my husband gets home. Now!	Ei, turpa kiinni ja nai minua ennen kuin mieheni tulee kotiin.	To ty się zamknij i zapnij mnie, zanim mój mąż wróci. No już!	Tuki sinä turpasi ja nussi minua ennen kuin ukkoni tulee.	Zamknij się i zerznij mnie zanim wróci mój mąż.

32	2a	It is so refreshing to be with someone who likes to fuck outside the box.	On niin virkistävää tapailla ihmistä, jolla on mielikuvitusta seksissä.	Cudownie jest być z kimś, kto lubi niekonwencjonalny seks.	Virkistävää, kun mies ei ole kaavoihin kangistunut.	Nareszcie poznałam faceta, który jest otwarty na nowe doznania.
33	2a	This is what I call Internal Revenue!	Perusteellinen tarkastus!	To się nazywa Izba Skarbowa!	Tämän verottajan kanssa asioi mielellään.	Lubię drobiazgową kontrolę.
34	3a	Hotter than secret service sluts?	Kuumemman kuin agenttihutsut?	Bardziej sexy od tajnych agentów?	Kiihottavamman kuin salaisen palvelun lutkat?	Bardziej kręcący niż ten?
35	3d	They would still be undercover agents in the future, but that night Samantha and Jerry got off on playing themselves.	He olisivat joskus taas agentteja, mutta sinä iltana Samantha ja Jerry kiihottuivat toisistaan.	Samantha i Jerry będą się w przyszłości bawić w agentów, ale tej nocy grali samych siebie.	He leikkivät jatkossakin kirjanpitäjiä ja salaisia agentteja. Mutta nyt Samantha ja Jerry opettelivat esittämään itseään	W przyszłości wcielą się w wiele ról, aletamtego wieczoru Samantha i Jerry zagrali samych siebie.
36	2a	Other couples spend it sexing.	Toiset viettävät sen sängyssä.	Inne uprawiają seks.	Toiset sekstaillen.	Inne uprawiają seks.
37	2a	But we always do "TGI Fuckday" .	Ainahan meillä on panoperjantai.	W piątki zawsze się pieprzymy.	Perjantai on aina panopäivä.	W piątki zawsze się rżniemy.
38	2a	You come see me in Brooklyn, and afterwards I'll make sure you come and come and come in the bedroom.	Tule katsomaan minua Brooklyniin, ja jälkeenpäin minä varmistan että tulet ja tulet ja tulet makuuhuoneessasi.	Przyjdiesz obejrzeć moją sztukę, a ja później dopilnuję,abyś miała orgazm za orgazmem.	Jos tulet katsomaan minua Brooklyniin, huolehdi että sinä saat ja saat ja saat makuuhuoneessa.	Przyjdź do teatru, a ja dopilnuję żebyś doszła raz za razem w sypialni.
39	2a	You always spend Fridays in me.	Olet aina perjantait sisälläni.	Piątki zawsze spędzasz we mnie.	Minunhan tässä pitäisi loukkaantua, kun et vietä perjantaita sisälläni.	Piątki spędzasz we mnie.
40	2a	It's not sweet. It's pathetic	Eikä ole. On surullista, miten pitkälle	To żałosne, jak daleko trzeba się	Eikä ole. Näin alas pitää vajota hyvän	To żałosne jak dla dobrego rżnięcia
		how far a girl will go for a good fuck.	tyttö menee kunnon panon takia.	posunąć dla dobrego pieprzenia.	panon takia.	trzeba się poświęcać.
41	2b	Not him. Gay.	Ei hän. Homo.	Nie ten. Gej.	Homo.	Odpada, to gej.
42	2b	Gay and doesn't know it.	Eikä tiedä sitä.	Gej, ale o tym nie wie.	Homo, muttei tiedä sitä.	Kryptogej.
43	2a	Nice day to get laid.	Kiva päivä panolle.	Dobry dzień na małe grzanko.	Hyvä päivä saada muna.	Dobry dzień na ? seks
44	1a	I'm not usually a fan of the theatre, but get your cock out!	En yleensä pidä teatterista, mutta ota kalusi esiin!	Nie jestem fanką teatru, ale wyciągaj fiuta!	En välitä teatterista, mutta ota muna esiin!	Teatr zwykle mnie nie grzeje, ale wyciągaj fiuta!
45	2a	After you dropped trou' , all I could think was, "I gotta get me some of that!"	Kun pudotit housusi, ajattelin vain: "Minun on saatava tuota."	Po tym, jak spuściłeś spodnie, nie mogłam się doczekać akcji!	Kun pudotit housusi, pystyin ajattelemaan vain yhtä asiaa. Tätä.	Gdy zrzuciłeś spodnie, myślałam tylko o jednym.

46	3d	Full frontal. You. Naked.	Sinä. Alasti. Täysin.	O tobie. Nago.	Että sinä olet alasti.	O tym.
47	3d	Full frontal and he can act.	Aivan alasti ja osaa näyttellä.	Pokazał interes i grę aktorską.	Alastomuutta, ja mies osaa näyttellä.	Pokazał ciało i znakomity kunszt.
48	3d	A stud is born.	Orhi on syntynyt.	Narodziny ogiera.	Orhi on syttynyt.	Narodziny ogiera.
49	2a	Fuck me!	Nai minua!	Ja pieprzę!	(omitted)	Ja pierdołę!
		- So every woman in town will say after seeing it.	- Niin sanovat kaikki naiset nähtyään tuon.	- To pierwsze, co powie każda kobieta na widok tego plakatu.	- Yksikään nainen ei kulje kuvasi ohi pöksyt kuivina.	- Taki będzie pierwszy komentarz każdej kobiety która go zobaczy.
50	1a	It's huge. - And that's the second.	- Se on valtava. - Se on toinen huomio.	Jest olbrzymi. - A to drugie.	Se on valtava. - Noin he kaikki ajattelevat.	Niezły rozmiar. - A taki będzie drugi.
51	1a	My dick's three storeys long!	Kaluni on kolmikerroksinen.	Mój fiut ma na nim trzy piętra długości!	Moloni on kolme kerrosta pitkä.	Mam fiuta jak armatę!
52	1a	...my ma's hiding all the magazines	...äitini piilottelee lehtiä Seattlessa	...matka chowa magazyny,	Äiti piilottelee lehtiä Seattlessa,	...a mama w sklepach chowa czasopisma, żeby
		so my grandmother doesn't see my dick!	ettei mummini näe kaluani.	żeby babcia nie zobaczyła na okładce mojego fiuta!	ettei mummo näe munaani.	babcia nie zobaczyła mojego fiuta
53	2b	First come the gays , then the girls, then the industry.	Ensin homot, sitten tytöt, sitten alan ihmiset.	Najpierw geje, potem dziewczyny, w końcu zauważy cię przemysł filmowy.	Ensin valloitat homot, sitten pikkutytöt, sitten koko alan.	Najpierw docenią Cię geje, potem dziewczyny, a na końcu show business.
54	3a	The naked hustler business?	Nakumallinako?	Branża porno?	Millä alalla? Mieshuoranako?	Karierę aktora porno?
55	2b	Speaking of Absolut Gay , Charlotte was on a date with son number two.	Absolut Homoista puheenollen, Charlotte tapasi toisen äidin pojan.	A propos gejów, Charlotte towarzyszył na randce syn numer dwa.	Charlotte lounasti homoseurassa, toisen puuhatäidin pojan kanssa.	A propos absolutnego geja, Charlotte poszła na randkę z synem znajomej.
56	2b	You know I'm gay , I know I'm gay .	Tiedämme, että olen homo.	Oboje dobrze wiemy, że jestem gejem.	Tiedät hyvin, että olen homo.	Wszyscy wiedzą, że jestem gejem.
57	2b	Actually, he's straight .	Hän on hetero.	Jest hetero.	Hän on hetero.	Jest hetero.
58	2b	What did I tell you? First the gays , now the girls.	Mitä minä sanoin? Ensin homot, sitten tytöt.	I co mówiłam? Najpierw geje, potem dziewczyny.	Mitä minä sanoin? Ensin homot, nyt pikkutytöt.	A nie mówiłam? Najpierw geje, teraz dziewczyny.
59	3a	Gus Van Sant offered Smith a part of a model/ hustler /junkie...	Gus Van Sant tarjosi Smithille malli/gigolo/narkkari –osaa...	Gus Van Sant zaferował Smithowi rolę modela/prostytutki/épuna...	Gus Van Sant tarjosi Smithille malli-huora-narkkarin roolia...	Gus Van Sant zaproponował Smithowi rolę cwanego modela, który lubi épać...
60	2b	But, from where I am right now, you may as well be gay with carnations.	Mutta minun tilanteessani voisit olla homo joka tuo neilikoita.	Ale w tym momencie równie dobrze mógłbyś być gejem z goździkami.	Mutta voisit yhtä hyvin olla homo neilikkakimppu kädessä	Ale dla mnie równie dobrze mógłbyś być gejem z goździkami.
61	2a	Want to go back to mine for sex ?	Mennäänkö sänkyyn?	Masz ochotę na seks?	Lähdetkö meille harrastamaan seksiä?	A może masz ochotę na seks?

62	2b	You are going to be the fantasy of every adolescent girl and sexually confused boy in America.	Sinusta tulee USA:n jokaisen teinitytön ja seksuaalisesti hämmentyneen pojan unelma.	Będziesz ucieleśnieniem marzeń każdej nastolatki i seksualnie niezdecydowanego nastolatka w USA.	Sinusta tulee kaikkien Amerikan teinityttöjen ja seksuaalisuuttaan etsivien poikien päiväuni.	Staniesz się najbardziej pożądanym chłopakiem w Ameryce.
63	2a	I'm not dating him, I'm fucking him .	Emme tapaile, nussin häntä.	Nie chodzę, tylko się pieprzę.	Emme seurustele vaan naimme.	Tylko się pieprzymy.
64	2a	Now I'm looking for someone new to fuck .	Nyt etsin jotakuta muuta.	A teraz szukam kogoś innego.	Nyt etsin uutta naitavaa.	Szukam świeżego mięsa.
65	2a	And he was bad in bed .	Ja hän oli huono sängyssä.	I do tego on był kiepski w łóżku.	Ja Berger oli huono sängyssä.	Był kiepski w łóżku.
66	2a	I know how to work it in bed !	Mitä voin sanoa? Osaan sänkyhommat.	No cóż? Wiem, co robić w łóżku!	Minä hallitsen petipuuhat.	Łóżka to moja specjalność.
67	2a	Since people often go to bars to try to get someone into bed , it was only a matter of time till someone put the beds in bars.	Koska ihmiset hakevat baareista sänkyseuraa oli vain ajan kysymys, milloin sängyt tuotiin suoraan baariin.	Ludzie często chodzą do barów, żeby pójść z kimś do łóżka, nie więc dziwnego, że ktoś wpadł na pomysł, by wstawić łóżka do barów.	Baareista etsitään usein sänkyseuraa. Oli vain ajan kysymys että joku keksi tuoda sängyt baareihin.	Zazwyczaj odwiedzamy kluby, aby zaciągnąć kogoś do łóżka, ale czasem warto od razu przejść do rzeczy.
68	2a	It's not often I have such a beautiful woman in bed with me .	En usein pääse sänkyyn noin kauniin naisen kanssa.	Nieczęsto mi się trafia w łóżku taka piękna kobieta.	Harvoin saan noin kauniin naisen sänkyyni.	Nieczęsto goszczę w łóżku taką piękność.
69	2a	He was fine in bed . Great, in fact.	Hän oli ihan hyvä sängyssä. Itse asiassa loistava.	Był dobry w łóżku. Nawet świetny.	Berger oli hyvä sängyssä, loistava.	Był dobry w łóżku. Nawet świetny.
70	2a	Hey, Smith. Want to come over and do me ?	Hei, Smith. Haluatko tulla tänne ja hoidella minut?	Cześć, Smith. Chcesz wpaść i obskoczyć mnie?	Hei Smith. Tuletko hoitelemaan minut.	Smith, przyjdiesz mnie zasunąć?
71	2a	You're mad to wear a harness without the hope of an orgasm .	Olet hullu, kun pidät valjaita, vaikka et voi lauetä.	Chyba zwariowałaś, żeby zakładać uprząż bez nadziei na orgazm.	Vain hullu pukeutuu valjaisiin ilman toivoakaan orgasmista.	Chyba zwariowałaś żeby zakładać uprząż bez nadziei na orgazm.
72	1a	Then we're going to try to find our balls .	Ja me yritämme löytää pallimme.	A potem mamy zamiar zabawić się po męsku.	Jos aikaa jää, käymme etsimässä pallejamme.	Następnie sprawdzimy, czy Harry ma jeszcze jaja.
73	2a	It isn't dating. It's sex ...	Ei suhde vaan seksiä...	To nie romans, tylko seks...	Ei se ole suhde, vaan seksiä...	Nie romans, tylko seks...
74	3b	...It's fun, it's a fling...	...Hauskanpitoa, irtosuhde...	...Zabawa, przygoda...	...Romanssit ovat hauskoja.	...Zabawa, przygoda.
75	2a	He is a catch! You should do him .	Hän on oikea saalis. Nappaa hänet.	Z nim byś się mogła puścić! Albo go złapać.	Howie on ihana. Tee temput hänen kanssaan.	Z nim mogłabyś się puścić! Albo potrzymać mu drązek.
76	1a	We want candles. Not short, stubby, little broken-off dick candles .	Haluamme kynttilöitä. Ei lyhyitä ja paksuja kuin murtunut kalu.	Chcemy świeczek, a nie krótkich, grubych, połamanych fiutków!	Ei mitään töpömulkun näköisiä vaan pitkiä ja siroja.	Chcemy świeczek, ale nie krótkich, grubych, połamanych fiutków. Mają być długie i gładkie.
77	1b	Nobody wants to see the bride's beaver .	Kukaan ei halua nähdä morsiamen mirriä.	Nikt nie chce zobaczyć bobra panny młodej.	Kukaan ei halua nähdä morsiamen tussua.	Nikt nie chce zobaczyć bobra panny młodej.

78	2a	It's just casual sex .	Se on vain rentoa seksiä.	Tylko seks bez zobowiązań.	Se on pelkkää harmitonta seksiä.	To tylko seks bez zobowiązań.
79	2a	That night, Howie and I had sex like we were teenagers.	Sinä yönä Howie ja minä rakastelimme kuin teinit.	Tej nocy kochaliśmy się z Howie'm jak nastolatki.	Howie ja minä harrastimme seksiä kuin teini-ikäiset konsanaan	Wieczorem kochaliśmy się z Howiem jak nastolatki.
80	2a	Meanwhile, Samantha was banging around , as well	Sillä aikaa Samanthakin piti ääntä.	Tymczasem, gdy my się waliliśmy, Samantha też waliła.	Samanthan asunnoltakin kantautei pauketta.	Tym czasem, Samantha też zajęła się stukaniem.
81	2a	But this is a sex sprain .	Mutta tämä on seksivähähdys.	Tak naprawdę to od seksu.	Tosiasiassa tämä on seksivamma.	To od seksu.
82	2a	No, it was not good for me. It was jack rabbit sex .	Eikä ollut. Se oli oikeaa kaniseksiä.	Wcale nie było mi dobrze. Kochaliśmy się jak króliki.	Siinä ei ollut mitään hyvää.	Wcale nie. Kochaliśmy się jak nakręcane króliki.
83	2b	Are straight men allowed to do that?	Saavatko heteromiehet harrastaa sitä?	To heteroseksualistom wolno to robić?	Onko heteromiehillä lupa tehdä niin?	Wolno tak nadal robić?
84	2b	It's masturbating with a woman instead of your hand. I don't enjoy.	Se on masturbointia naisen kanssa, ei käden. En nauti siitä.	To masturbacja przy użyciu kobiety zamiast ręki. Nic przyjemnego.	Sama kuin masturboisi naisella. Nautinto oli kaukana.	To jak masturbacja przy użyciu kobiety.
85	2a	...I wouldn't have made love to you like that.	...en olisi rakastellut kanssasi sillä tavalla.	...to bym się tak z tobą nie kochał.	Jos olisin tiennyt olevani pelkkä pano, en olisi rakastellut sinua niin.	Gdybym wiedział, że mnie tylko wykorzystujesz, nie kochałbym się z Tobą.
86	2a	You used me for sex !	"Käytit minua saadaksesi seksiä!	"Wykorzystałaś mnie dla seksu!"	"Olin sinulle pelkkä pano!"	"Wykorzystałaś mnie dla seksu!"
87	2a	Does everyone know I slept with him ?	Tietävätkö kaikki, että naimme?	Czy wszyscy wiedzą, że z nim spałam?	Tietävätkö kaikki meistä?	Czy wszyscy wiedzą, że z nim spałam?
88	3a	And they all think you're a big whore-a !	Ja he pitävät sinua oikeana horana.	I wszyscy myślą, że się puściłaś!	Tietävät. Olet heidän mielestään täysi hora.	Tak. Mają Cię za puszczalską.
89	3b	Maybe I would have a fling .	Ehkä pystyisin yhden yön juttuun.	Może zdecyduję się na romans.	Ei kai pienestä romanssista mitään pahaa seuraa?	Może zdecyduję się na romans.
90	2b	I played "William Wants A Doll" so often my sister almost turned into a gay man .	Soitin "William Wants A Doll" niin usein että sisarestani tuli melkein homomies.	Moja siostra prawie została gejem, tak często grałem "William chce lalkę".	Soitin Ville tahtoo nuken niin monta kertaa, että pikkusiskostani oli vähällä tulla homomies.	Tak często słuchałem piosenki William chce lalkę, że omał nie zrobiłem z mojej siostry geja.
91	3d	The unspoken thing was that Robert was cute and Miranda was horny .	Se oli se, että Robert oli söpö Miranda kiimainen.	Naprawdę chodziło o to, że czarujący Robert podobał się Mirandzie.	Se asia oli, että Robert oli söpö ja Mirandaa panetti.	Chodziło o to, że Robert jest przystojny, a Miranda napalona.
92	2b	It's midnight, he's gay , he has to start his night.	Mutta on keskiyö, homojen pitää päästä liikkeelle.	Już północ, a on jest gejem i musi pójść w tango.	...mutta keskiyöllä homojen ilta vasta alkaa.	...ale wybiła północ i o tej porze geje zaczynają nocne życie.
93	1a	When you're sucking his balls .	Kun imet hänen pallejaan.	Gdy ssiesz mu jądra.	Siis kun imet hänen pallejaan.	Gdy ssiesz mu jajka.
94	1a	I thought you meant teabagging, holding a guy's balls in your mouth.	Luulin, että tarkoitat sitä, että pidät palleja suussa.	Myślałam, że chodzi o trzymanie torebek faceta w ustach.	Luulin, että tarkoittit pallien imemistä.	Sądziłam, że chodzi o parzenie torby, czyli branie do buzi jajek faceta.

95	1a	Milo! Pants stay on! I'm serious. Penises stay in the bathroom!	Milo! Housut jalkaan! Pippelit pysyvät kylppärissä.	Milo! Założ majtki! Mówię poważnie. Penis zostają w łazience!	Housut jalkaan! Penisten paikka on kylppärissä	Milo! Nie wolno chodzić z ptaszkiem na wierzchu!
96	1a	Harry's teabags on her white couch.	Harry teepussit valkoisella sohvalla.	Torebki Harry'ego na jej białej kanapie.	Harryn teepussit Charlotten uudella valkealla sohvalla.	Bardziej przeszkadzały jej klejnoty męża na nowej kanapie.
97	2a	They've slept together , but Jules may be involved with a girl in a shop.	He makasivat yhdessä, mutta Julesilla on ehkä suhde toiseen tyttöön.	Spali ze sobą, ale możliwe, że Jules ma romans z ekspedientką.	Heillä on satunnaista seksiä, mutta Julesilla on ehkä suhde makkarakaupan tytön kanssa.	Przespali się ze sobą kilka razy, ale Julesowi wpadła w oko ekspedientka z mięsnego.
98	2a	If you slept with him ,...	Jos olisitte menneet sänkyyn,	Jeśli jeszcze z nim spałaś,	Ajattele, kun menette sänkyyn.	Przeleć go...
99	2a	talk about a home-coming !	se olisi ollut kotiintulo!	to dopiero powrót do przeszłości.	Siinä sinulle muistelo.	...i zatocz pełne koło.
100	2a	No! We never went all the way .	Emme menneet niin pitkälle silloin.	Nie! Nigdy nie poszliśmy na całość.	Emme menneet loppuun saakka.	Nigdy nie posunęliśmy się aż tak daleko.
101	1a	Can't swing your dick without running into someone you know.	Ei voi kullia heilauttaa törmäämättä tuttuun.	Trudno rozpiąć rozporek, żeby nie natknąć się na znajomego.	Chelseassa ei voi moloa heilauttaa törmäämättä tuttuun.	Taki tu tłok, że trzeba zaciskać pośladki.
102	2b	It's a fundraiser at the Gay-Lesbian-Bi-Transgender Center .	Rahankeräystä homojen, lesbojen, bi- ja transseksuaalien keskukselle.	Bal galowy w Centrum Gejów, Lesbijek i Biseksualistów.	Hyväntekeväisyysiltaan homo-lesbo-bi-transkeskuksessa.	Współpracujemy z fundacją gejów i lesbijek.
103	2b	What's the theme? Queer and queerer ?	Onko teemaan homo ja homompi?	Jaki wystrój? Dziwnie czy dziwacznie?	Onko teema homo, homoin?	Bal pedałów.
104	2b	You were gay	Olit homo.	Byłeś gejem.	Olit homo.	Byłeś gejem.
105	2b	...You were gay .	Olit homo.	Byłeś gejem.	Olit homo.	Byłeś gejem.
106	2b	No. I wasn't gay until...	Ei, olin homo vasta kun...	Nie. Gejem zostałem dopiero...	Olin homo vasta...Kun synnyit?	Nie, stałem się nim dopiero podczas...Narodzin?
107	2b	They should be going to the Gay, Lesbian and Prostitute Prom .	Menisivät homojen, lesbojen ja prostituoitujen tansseihin.	Powinni pójść na bal gejów, lesbijek i prostytutek.	Noiden pitäisi mennä homojen, lesbojen ja prostituoitujen iltaan.	Powinni się wybrać na bal prostytutek.
108	2b	I know that Marcus used to be a gay escort.	Tiedän, että Marcus oli maksettu homoseuralainen.	Wiem, że Marcus był kiedyś męską prostytutką.	Satun tietämään, että Marcus on ollut rattopoika.	Marcus dawał kiedyś za pieniądze.
109	3a	I know that Marcus used to be a gay escort .	Tiedän, että Marcus oli maksettu homoseuralainen.	Wiem, że Marcus był kiedyś męską prostytutką.	Satun tietämään, että Marcus on ollut rattopoika.	Marcus dawał kiedyś za pieniądze.
110	2b	Honey, wake up and smell the KY!	Kulta, se on tosiasia.	Kotku, obudź się i poczuj wazelinę!	Herää ja haista liukastetta!	Pobudka, skarbie!
111	3a	He called himself Paul. Worst hustler name I ever heard.	Hänen nimensä oli Paul. Surkea huoranimi.	Nazywał się Paul. Najgorsze możliwe imię na kurwę.	Hän käytti nimeä Paul. Surkea pornonimi!	Używał imienia Paul.
112	3d	Which, in high school, was code for "come and make out ".	Lukiossa se oli peitenimi kuhertelulle.	Co w szkole oznaczało "przyjdź na pieszczoty".	Lukioaikana se tarkoitti pussailua.	W liceum oznaczało to całowanie się.

113	2a	I think you should stay. I think we should go all the way .	Sinä voisit jäädä. Voisimme tehdä sen lopulta.	Myślę, że powinieneś zostać. I powinniśmy pójść na całość.	Jää tänne yöksi. Voisimme mennä loppuun saakka	Zostań. Powinniśmy pójść na całość.
114	2a	That night, we went all the way , and we weren't the only ones	Sinä iltana menimme loppuun asti emmekä olleet ainoita.	Tej nocy poszliśmy na całość. I nie tylko my.	Me menimme loppuun saakka, emmekä olleet ainoat.	Tamtej nocy poszliśmy na całość. I nie tylko my.
115	2b	It's true. Marcus was a gay escort.	Se on totta. Marcus oli seuralainen.	To prawda. Marcus byl meska prostytutka.	Marcus on ollut rattopoika, mutta hän lopetti vuonna 1992.	Marcus dawał za pieniądze. Ale skończył z tym w 92.
116	3a	It's true. Marcus was a gay escort .	Se on totta. Marcus oli seuralainen.	To prawda. Marcus byl meska prostytutka.	Marcus on ollut rattopoika, mutta hän lopetti vuonna 1992.	Marcus dawał za pieniądze. Ale skończył z tym w 92.
117	3a	But it's not the escort thing , but the secret thing that bothers me.	Minua ei vaivaa itse asia, vaan se että se salattiin.	Ale to właśnie ta tajemnica mi przeszkadza, a nie prostytutka.	Salailu vaivaa minua enemmän, kuin hänen menneisyytensä.	Mnie nie chodzi o prostytutkę, tylko o tajemnicę.
118	2b	I don't want to hear it from some bitchy queen with back issues of Honcho.	En halua kuulla sitä Honchoja keräilevältä homoämmältä.	Nie chcę się dowiadywać od jakiegoś kretyna, który prenumeruje "Honcho".	Oli inhottavaa kuulla totuus hinttarilta, joka kerää Honchoja.	Nie chcę czerpać wiedzy z Honcho.
119	2a	You slept with him , didn't you?	Rakastelit hänen kanssaan.	Spałaś z nim, prawda?	Te menitte sänkyyn.	Przespałaś się z nim?
120	2a	Did you ever, ever sleep with that little bitchy pine-nut, Anthony?	Makasitko koskaan sen superämmä Anthonyn kanssa?	Czy kiedykolwiek spałeś z tym kretyńskim karzelkiem, Anthonym?	Menitkö koskaan sänkyyn sen inhottavan Anthonyn kanssa?	Czy przespałeś się z tym fistaszkiem, Anthonym?
121	3a	No, thank you. I already have an escort .	Ei kiitos. Minulla on jo seuralainen.	Nie, dziękuję. Jestem w miłym towarzystwie.	Ei kiitos, minulla on jo seuralainen.	Dziękuję, nie skorzystam.
122	2a	He was in such a vulnerable position - the sex , the bloody nose, the doctor boyfriend.	Seksiä, verinen nenä ja lääkäripoikaystävä...	Znaleźć się w takiej sytuacji - seks, krwawiący nos i kochanek lekarz.	Steve-parka oli häntä koipien välissä petipuuhiemme, kolhun ja lääkäripoikaystävän jäljiltä.	Biedny Steve. Znalazł się w kiepskiej sytuacji. Seks, krwawiący nos i kochanek lekarz.
123	2b	Bitsy Von Muffling had recently married cabaret singer Bobby Fine, known to everyone but Bitsy as the gayest gay man alive.	Bitsy Von Muffling nai kabareelaulaja Bobby Finen, joka muiden silmissä oli homoista homomaisiin.	Bitsy Von Muffling wyszła ostatnio za artystę kabaretowego Bobby'ego Fine'a, o którym wszyscy, oprócz Bitsy, wiedzieli, że jest gejem.	Bitsy von Mufflingin aviomies oli Bobby Fine, jonka koko muu kaupunki tunsu umpihomona.	Bitsy von Muffling poślubiła ostatnio artystę kabarytowego, Bobby'ego Fine'a. Wszyscy poza Bitsy wiedzieli, że jest gejem. I męża pedała.
124	2b	And married to a fag .	Ja mies on homo.	I ma za męża homo.	Ja homon kanssa naimisissa.	
125	1b	Put your index finger on my clit .	Pistä etusormesi klitorikselleni.	Położ mi palec wskazujący na fasolce.	Laita etusormi klitorikselleni.	Dotknij palcem wskazującym łechtaczki.
126	2a	I didn't fuck a single or married guy while Smith was away.	En pannut yhtään miestä, kun Smith oli matkoilla.	Gdy go nie było, nie pieprzyłam się z żadnym wolnym ani żonatym facetem.	En nussinut ketään muuta Smithin matkan aikana.	Pod jego nieobecność nie rżnęłam się z żadnym innym facetem.
127	3a	It's a damned shame, too, because I love a cute candy stripper .	Se on sääli. Kyllä minulle namu kelpaisi.	A to cholerna szkoda, bo uwielbiam śliczne striptizerki.	Harmi, sillä rakastan strippaavia hoitsuja.	Wielka szkoda, bo uwielbiam rozbierane pielęgniareczki.
128	3a	Not stripping , striping.	En strippaa, toin namuja.	Nie striptizerki, a pielęgniarki.	En minä strippaa vaan hoivaan.	Nie chodzi o rozbieranie, tylko opiekę.

129	2a	And that's how Samantha lost her virginity to Smith.	Niin Samantha menetti neitsyytensä Smithille.	I w ten sposób Samantha straciła dziewictwo ze Smithem.	Ja niin Samantha menetti neitsyytensä Smithille.	I tym sposobem Samantha straciła dziewictwo ze Smithem.
130	2a	No sex and board games.	Ei seksiä, vain lautapelejä.	Gry zamiast seksu.	Ei seksiä, pelkkiä lautapelejä.	Gry planszowe zamiast seksu.
131	2a	Yesterday I almost did it with him on a park bench in front of children.	Olin käydä häneen kiinni puiston penkillä.	Wczoraj o mało co nie zrobiliśmy tego w parku, na oczach dzieci.	Melkein teimme sen eilen puistossa lasten nähden.	Wczoraj omal nie zrobiliśmy tego na ławce w parku.
132	1a	Been round the block and know how to use their cock .	Eli kokenut mies, joka osaa käyttää kulliaan.	W życiu się wyhasał, wie jak korzystać z kutasa.	Kokemusta ja kullinkäyttötaitoa löytyy.	Facet stary sprawnie używa fujary.
133	2a	- He's in and out of Europe.	Hän on koko ajan tulossa ja menossa.	Cały czas lata do Europy.	Hän ravaa yhtenään Euroopassa.	- Często lata do Europy.
		- That could be good.	Matkustelu on hyvä juttu.	To może być dobre.	Se voi olla hyvä.	- Cudownie.
		- She only wants him in and out of her .	Carriekin haluaisi välillä tulla.	Chce z nim latać tylko do łóżka.	Carrie haluaa pelkkää seksiä.	- Ona chce tylko, żeby ją przeleciał.
134	3d	And I hope you understand	Ymmärrä sinä, että lähetän laskun.	Mam nadzieję, że zrozumiesz,	Toivottavasti sinä ymmärrät,	Wystawię Ci rachunek. - Rachunek?
		when you get my bill.	Palveluksistani.	kiedy przyjdzie mój rachunek.	kun saat laskun.	- Owszem. Za usługi faceta do towarzystwa.
		My bill for services rendered.	Olin urokseksi.	Za wykonane usługi.	Laskun palveluksistani.	
		You know, my stud fee .		Te w sypialni.	Astutuspalkkioni.	
135	2a	Too tired to go out and fuck , call Robert.	Et ehdi ulos, soitat Robertille.	...jak chcesz się bzykać - do Roberta.	Kun panettaa, soitat Robertille.	Zamiast chodzić na podryw, dzwonisz do Roberta.
136	2a	Sure it is. Fast food, fast fuck .	On. Pikaruokaa, pikapanoja.	Szybkie jedzenie, szybki seks.	Pikaruokaa ja pikapanoja.	Szybki posiłek, szybki numer.
137	2a	You were not a fast fuck .	Et ollut pikapano.	Nie chodziło mi o szybki seks.	Et sinä ollut pikapano.	To nie był szybki numer.
138	2a	``Oh, Robert. Oh, God! Robert! No man has ever been in this deep .``	"Voi Luoja, Robert! Kukaan ei ole päässyt yhtä syvälle."	``Och, Robercie. O Boże! Robercie! Żaden facet nie był we mnie tak głęboko.``	"Voi Robert! Hyvä luoja, Robert! Kukaan muu ei ole käynyt noin syvällä"	"O tak, Robercie. Jeszcze. Żaden facet nie wszedł we mnie tak głęboko."
139	2a	The man is crazy in love with me, talking about how I said, ``No man's ever been in me that deep .``	Hän on rakastunut minuun. Hän sanoi, ettei kukaan muu ole päässyt yhtä syvälle.	Ciągle jest we mnie zakochany, pamięta, jak mówiłam, że ``Nikt dotąd nie był we mnie tak głęboko``.	Hän rakasti minua hullun lailla ja puhuu minun sanoneen, ettei kukaan ole käynyt yhtä syvällä.	Ma fioła na moim punkcie. Wypomnił mi, jak powiedziałam, że żaden facet nie wszedł we mnie tak głęboko.
140	1b	You gotta give it to him. Making pancakes for pussy ?	Pisteet hänelle. Lettuja tussua vastaan.	Naleśniki dla swojej dupci? Facet ma klasę.	Lettuja pillulle, siinä on tyylä.	Naleśniki za ciupcanie. Facet ma klasę.
141	2a	Someone who takes charge, drags you to bed, has his way with you	Hän ottaa ohjat käsiin, raahaa vuoteeseen, ei kysele mitä haluat, vaan	Kogoś, kto przejmuje inicjatywę, wlecze cię do łóżka, robi z tobą, co	Joku joka ottaa ohjat, kantaa sinut sänkyyn ja nai kyselemättä, mitä haluat.	Twardziela, który zaciąga cię do sypialni i pieprzy nie pytając o zdanie.

		and fucks you and fucks you.	paneet sinua.	chce i wali cię do bólu.		
142	2b	Still, sometimes I don't know whether to blow him or burp him.	Häntä pitää välillä paapoa, ei panna.	Czasem nie wiem, czy mu obciągnąć, czy go przewinąć.	Välillä tuntuu, että hän on vielä vaippaiässä.	Mimo to, czasem nie wiem czy powinnam zrobić mu laskę czy dać klapsa.
143	2a	But in the harsher reality of a woman who just slept with someone she likes, it did.	Mutta naiselle, joka oli maannut mukavan ihmisen kanssa, sillä oli väliä.	Ale w rzeczywistości kobiety, która spędziła noc z kimś, kto jej się podoba, to było ważne.	...mutta kun on juuri maannut miehen kanssa, josta pitää sillä oli.	Ale z punktu widzenia kobiety, która przespała się z atrakcyjnym facetem miało całkiem spore.
144	2a	According to certain scientists, whenever a woman has sex her body produces a chemical which causes her to emotionally attach.	Eräiden tieteilijöiden mukaan naisen harrastettua seksiä hän tuottaa ainetta, jonka takia syntyy tunneside.	Zdaniem naukowców, ciało kobiety wytwarza podczas stosunku substancję chemiczną, która powoduje emocjonalne przywiązanie do partnera	Joidenkin tutkimusten mukaan naisen elimistö erittää rakastelun aikana kemikaalia, joka saa aikaan tunnesiteen.	Naukownicy twierdzą, że ciało kobiety w trakcie stosunku wydziela substancję, która wywołuje emocjonalne przywiązanie.
145	2a	-Where can this possibly go?	-Mitä tästä voisi syntyä?	Ciekawe, dokąd to zmierza?	Mitä tästä voi tulla?	Jak się rozwinie ta znajomość?
		-You didn't want it to go anywhere.	-Et halunnut mitään.	Przecież niczego nie chciałaś.	Et halunnut suhdetta.	Nie chciałaś żeby się rozwijała.
		-That was before I slept with him.	-Se oli ennen seksiä.	Zanim poszłam z nim do łóżka.	Se oli ennen kuin menimme sänkyyn.	Dopóki się z nim nie przespałam.
146	2a	Listen to me. I've only slept with him once.	Olen ollut hänen kanssaan vain kerran.	O czym ja myślę? Przespałam się z nim tylko raz.	Mitä minä puhun? Ja ekan kerran jälkeen.	Za bardzo świruję.
147	3b	No. Thinking you can take a lover is embarrassing. This is helping people.	Rakastajan ottaminen on noloa. Tämä on toisten auttamista.	Krępujące jest myśleć, że można uwieść kochanka. To jest dobroczynne.	Noloa on yrittää ottaa rakastaja. Sinä autat ihmisiä.	Bynajmniej. Żenujące jest zadurzenie się w kochanku.
148	2a	This is not about a quick bang.	Tässä ei ole kyse mistään pikapanoista.	Nie traktuję tego jak szybki seks.	Ei tämä ole mikään pikapano.	To nie jest przelotna znajomość.
149	3b	My lover is not old. He is worldly and wise and very sexy.	Rakastajani ei ole vanha. Hän on kosmopoliitti, älykäs ja hyvin seksikäs.	Mój kochanek wcale nie jest stary. Jest doświadczony, mądry i bardzo seksowny.	Minun rakastajani ei ole vanha. Hän on kokenut, viisas ja erittäin seksikäs.	Wcale nie jest stary. Jest doświadczony życiowo, mądry i seksowny.
150	3d	I'm not starved. Smith is in LA for the week and he calls me every night.	Minä en. Smith on Losissa tämän viikon. Hän soittaa joka ilta.	Mnie nie brakuje. Smith jest w Los Angeles i dzwoni codziennie.	Minä en ole. Smith on Losissa viikon ja soittaa joka ilta.	Ja nie narzekam. Smith co wieczór do mnie dzwoni.
		- Phone sex doesn't count.	- Puhelinseksiä ei lasketa.	- Seks przez telefon się nie liczy.	- Puhelinseksiä ei lasketa.	Telefon się nie liczy.
151	3a	He's saying I'm a whore who deserves chemo!	Olen muka huora, joka ansaitsee sädehoitonsa!	Jego zdaniem jestem dziwką, która zasługuje na chemię.	Hänestä olen huora ja ansaitseen kohtaloni.	Jego zdaniem jestem dziwką, która zasługuje na chemię.
152	1a	- It could be microscopic.	-Jotain ei ehkä huomattu.	- To może być coś mikroskopijnego.	- Siellä voi olla jotain pientä.	- To może być coś malutkiego.
		- Like his dick ?	- Kuten hänen kulliaan.	- Jak jego fiut?	- Hänen mulkkunsa.	- Jak jego fiut?

153	2a	What`ve you got against honeymoons? It`s sex with room service.	Miksi vihaat häämatkoja? Seksiä huonepalvelulla.	Miesiąc miodowy to seks z całodobową obsługą pokojową.	Mikä vika häämatkassa on? Saat seksiä ja huonepalvelua.	Miesiąc miodowy to seks z całodobową obsługą pokojową.
154	2a	And I`ve always chosen sex over babies, which is apparently why I got cancer!	Sain kai syövänkin, koska pidän seksistä enemmän kuin vauvoista.	Ja nie. Smith będzie w mieście, a seks zwykle stawiam ponad dzieci. Podobno dlatego mam raka.	Minä en suostuisi. Smith tulee kaupunkiin, ja seksi on minulle lapsia tärkeämpää. Siksi sairastuinkin syöpään!	Ja odpadam. Przyjeżdża Smith, a seks zwykle stawiam ponad dzieci. Podobno dlatego mam raka!
155	2a	Who d`you have to fuck to get chemo?	Ketä pitää naida saadakseen sädehoitoa?	Nawet za chemię trzeba się puszczać?	Ketä pitää naida, että pääsee kemoterapiaan?	To kogo mam teraz zarżnąć?
156	2b	I was once told I wouldn`t be able to get backstage to see Mick Jagger. Well, I did get backstage. And I blew him .	Minulle sanottiin, etten voisi tavata Mick Jaggeria keikan jälkeen. Minäpä tapasin. Ja otin suihinkin.	Ktoś raz powiedział, że nie dostanę się za kulisy do Micka Jaggera. Dostałam się. I mu obciągnęłam.	Minulle sanottiin kerran, etten pääse tapaamaan Mick Jaggeria. Pääsin sinne ja otin häneltä suihin.	Ktoś mi kiedyś powiedział, że nie dostanę się za kulisy do Micka Jaggera. Dostałam się. I mu obciągnęłam.
157	2a	So then...you don`t have sex ?	-Joten sinä et ole harrastanut seksiä.	-Więc nie uprawia pani seksu?	- Et siis harrasta seksiä.	- Więc nie uprawia pani seksu?
		-No.	- En.	- Nie.	- En.	- Nie.
158	2a	-Never had sex ?	- Etkö ikinä?	- Nigdy?	-Et ole koskaan harrastanut. - En.	- W ogóle? - Nie.
159	2b	-Are you allowed to masturbate ?	- Saavatko nunnat masturboida?	- Może się pani masturbować?	- Saatteko te masturboida?	- Możecie się masturbować.
		- I never asked.	- En ole kysynyt	- Nigdy nie pytałam.	- En ole kysynyt.	- Nie spytałam.
160	3c	- Maybe he`ll change his mind.	-Hän voi muuttaa mielensä.	Może zmieni zdanie.	Ehkä hän muuttaa mielensä	- Może zmieni zdanie.
		- I don`t think so. He had a vasectomy .	-Hänet on steriloitu.	nie sądzę. Miał wazektomię.	Tuskin. Hänet on sterilisoitu.	- Nie sądzę. Miał wazektomię.
161	2a	This whole place is screaming, ``You should be having sex again!``	Koko paikka ja retki yllyttävät rakastelemaan.	Gdziekolwiek nie spojrzę, słyszę jedno: ``Chodźmy się jeszcze pokochać``.	Täällä pitäisi koko ajan harrastaa seksiä.	Gdziekolwiek spojrzę, słyszę jedno: chodźmy się jeszcze pokochać.
162	2a	The fire, the tub...We`ve already done it twice today.	Olemme naineet jo kahdesti.	Dzisiaj zrobiliśmy to już dwa razy.	Olemme tehneet sen tänään jo kahdesti,	Dzisiaj zrobiliśmy to już dwa razy.
163	2a	It`s like sex is the only thing on the itinerary.	Matkaohjelmassa on kai vain seksiä.	Poza seksem w harmonogramie nie ma nic.	muuta ohjelmaa ei ole.	Poza seksem w harmonogramie nie ma nic.
164	2a	I hope it`s a wild animal and not Steve coming to have sex with me again.	Toivottavasti se on villieläin eikä himokas Steve.	Mam nadzieję, że to dziki zwierz, a nie rozochocony Steve.	Toivottavasti villieläin, eikä Steve, joka haluaa taas harrastaa seksiä.	Mam nadzieję, że to dziki zwierz, a nie rozochocony Steve.
165	2a	What`s going on? We haven`t slept together since I`ve been back.	Mistä on kyse? Emme ole olleet yhdessä paluuni jälkeen.	O co chodzi? Nie kochaliśmy się od mojego powrotu.	Emme ole olleet yhdessä kertaakaan tuloni jälkeen.	Nie kochaliśmy się od mojego powrotu.

166	3d	Something's up. You were quiet all night. You didn't even talk during phone sex .	Jotain on pielessä. Et puhunut edes puhelinseksin aikana.	Coś jest nie tak. Byłaś małomówna już podczas seksu przez telefon.	Jokin sinua vaivaa. Olit ihmeen vaisu parina viime puhelinseksikertanakin.	Coś nie gra. Byłaś małomówna już podczas seksu przez telefon.
167	2a	-Many fabulous things in life	-Elämässä on hienoja asioita,	-Oprócz dzieci, w życiu jest wiele innych,	-Elämässä on monta ihanaa asiaa, joihin	- Życie nie sprowadza się do samych dzieci.
		don't include a baby.	joihin ei kuulu lapsi.	fantastycznych zajęć.	ei liity lapsia.	Zastanów się.
		-What would that be like?	-Mitä siihen elämään kuuluisi?	-Jak wyglądałoby takie życie?	-Millaista se olisi?	- Miałabym jego. Seks. Podróże. Poczucie bezpieczeństwa.
		-Well...him, sex , travel, comfort.	-Siinä kuuluisi hän, seksiä, matkoja ja mukavuutta.	-Cóż... Miałabym jego, seks, podróże, poczucie bezpieczeństwa.	-Minulla olisi hänet. Seksiä ja matkustelua, mukavaa elämää.	Miłość. I niezwykle przygody.
168	2a	Brady saw us having sex !	Brady näki meidät.	Brady nas widział!	Brady näki meidät, hän sai elinikäiset	Brady nas widział. Przeżyje traumę.
		I've scarred him for life!	Hänelle jää trauma!	Skrzywdziłam go do końca życia.	arvet.	
169	2a	-Brady saw us having sex .	-Brady näki meidän rakastelevan.	-Brady widział, jak się kochaliśmy.	-Brady näki, kun harrastimme seksiä.	Brady widział jak się kochaliśmy.
		-And?	-Niin?	-I?	-Niin?	- I co?
170	2a	It may be too late.	Myöhäistä.	Za późno.	Myöhäistä.	Za późno.
		He just said, `` Sex is dirty ``	Hän sanoi, että seksi on likaista.	Właśnie powiedział: ``Seks jest brudny``.	Hän sanoi juuri:"Seksi on tuhmaa".	Właśnie powiedział:"Seks jest zły."
171	2a	Steve, I can't have sex anymore!	En voi rakastella enää, Steve!	Mam już dosyć seksu!	En voi enää harrastaa seksiä!	Mam już dosyć seksu.
172	2a	I love you, but I can't love you this often.	Rakastan sinua,	Kocham cię, ale nie tak często.	Rakastan sinua, mutta en voi rakastella	Kocham Cię, ale dwa razy dziennie, codziennie,
173	2a	I can't love you twice a day, every day.	mutten voi rakastella koko ajan.	Nie codziennie, dwa razy dziennie.	kahta kertaa päivässä.	nie wytrzymam.
174	3d	Apparently, Samantha wasn't the only one losing something that night.	Samantha ei ilmeisesti ollut ainoa, joka menetti jotain sinä yönä.	Najwyraźniej nie tylko Samantha straciła coś tego wieczora.	Hiustenlähtö sai Smithin hätkähtämään.	Smithowi odechciało się amorów.
175	2b	Her hair started falling out at a really bad time.	-Hänen tukkansa alkoi lähteä tosi pahalla hetkellä.	-Wczoraj wypadły jej włosy. W dość nieodpowiedniej chwili.		- Włosy zaczęły jej wypadać w nieodpowiednim momencie.
		- Oh, God. Was she at work?	- Voi luoja. Oliko hän töissä?	- Była w pracy?	- Töissäkö?	- W pracy?
		- No, but she was definitely doing a job .	- Ei, mutta hommissa kylläkin.	- Nie, ale przy pracy.	- Ei, mutta hän oli kyllä hommissa.	- Kiedy robiła dobrze Smithowi.

176	3a	I don't want a second-rate wig named after a hooker .	En halua sekundaperuukkia, jolla on huoran nimi.	I nie chcę starej peruki o kurewskiej nazwie.	En halua päähäni hutsun mukaan nimettyä karvaläjää.	Nie chcę wyglądać na premierze jak tania dziwka.
177	3d	- You freaked after just a few hairs.	- Pelästyit jo parin hiuksen jälkeen.	- Przeraziło cię kilka smyków.	- Pelästyit paria irtohiusta.	- Spanikowaleś gdy wypadł mi pukiel włosów.
		- So did you.	- Niin sinäkin.	- Ciebie też.	- Pelästyit itsekin	- Ty też.
		- You lost your hard on .	- Sinulla Ei enää seissyt.	- Tobie zwiotczał.	- Sinulla lakkasi seisomasta.	- Opałł Ci!
178	2b	That night, Smith gave Samantha the very best head of her life.	Sinä iltana Smith antoi Samanthalle kaikkien aikojen parasta päätä.	Tego wieczora Smith zadowolił Samanthę jak nigdy dotąd.	Samantha sai Smithiltä elämänsä kampauksen.	Tamtego wieczoru Smith zrobił Samancie wspaniałą fryzurę.
179	2a	It's a very good column. It's about women, men and sex .	Se on oikein hyvä palsta. Se kertoo naisista, miehistä ja seksistä.	To bardzo dobra rubryka. O kobietach, mężczyznach i seksie.	Se on loistava kolumni. Käsitlee naisia, miehiä ja seksiä.	W błyskotliwy sposób pisuje o kobietach, facetach i seksie.
180	2a	"It's my belief that the last time anyone enjoyed the 69 position was in 1969."	"Uskon, että 69-asennosta nautittiin viimeksi vuonna 1969."	"Moim zdaniem pozycję ``69``, lubili ludzie w 1 969 roku``.	"Asento 69:stä ei ole kukaan nauttinut sitten vuoden 1969".	"Pozycja na 69 podobała się po raz ostatni w roku 69."
181	3	That dog gets cruised more than me and we're at ``Gay`` and ``Gay`` .	Sitä kosiskellaan enemmän kuin minua, vaikka olemme homokulmilla.	Nawet w pedalskiej części miasta pies ma większe powodzenie niż ja.	Koira kerää kaikki katseet, vaikka homokorttelissa ollaan.	Jesteśmy w gejowskiej dzielnicy, a pies wzbudza większe zainteresowanie ode mnie.
182	3a	- I think she misses competing. - She's an attention whore .	- Se taitaa kaivata kilpailua. - Se on huomio-huora.	- Wydaje mi się, że tęskni za pokazami. - Spodli się, by być w centrum uwagi.	- Huomionkipeä narttu.	(omitted! Jumps to the next line: "Ładniutki!")
183	2b	Smith is always in that rag.	- Smith on aina tuossa lehdessä.	- Zawsze jest w tym szmatławcu.	Smith on aina siinä läpyskässä.	- Już się przyzwyczaiłam.
		- Yes, but this time... he's gay .	- Niin, mutta nyt... hän on homo.	- Wiem, ale tym razem jest... gejem.	Tällä kertaa hän on homo.	- Tym razem...został gejem.
184	2b	"Smith Jerrod cosies up to Broadway dancer Marcus Adant, ``an unidentified older gay gentleman ``."	"Smith Jerrod Broadway-tanssija Marcus Adantin kyljessä, mukana tuntematon vanhempi homo herrasmies."	"Smith Jerrod w objęciach Marcusa Adanttuliego, tancerza z Broadwayu oraz nieznanego starszego pana - homoseksualisty``."	"Smith Jerrodin kainalossa tanssija Marcus Adant ja tuntematon vanhempi homomies."	"Smith Jerrod spotkał się z tancerzem Marcusem Adantem i nieznanym gejem."
185	2b	Smith is not gay .	- Smith ei ole homo.	Smith nie jest gejem.	Smith ei ole homo.	Smith jest hetero.
186	2b	Once the gay rumours start, it means you're really a star.	Homohuhujen alkaminen tarkoittaa, että on todella iso tähti.	Gejowskie plotki w prasie dotyczą tylko prawdziwych gwiazd.	Sitä paitsi homojuorut ovat merkki tositähteydestä.	Plotki świadczą o popularności.
187	2b	Miranda really wants to talk to you. - Smith is gay !	Miranda haluaa puhua. - Smith on homo!	Miranda wryyvä mi słuchawkę. - Smith jest gejem!	Mirandalla on asiaa, ja Smith on homo!	Wiedziałaś, że Smith jest gejem?
188	2b	- You're not coming?	- Etkö sinä tule?	- Nie przychodzisz?	- Miten niin et tule?	- Dlaczego nie przyjdiesz?

		- Smith is gay ?	- Smith on homo?	- Smith jest gejem?	- Smithkö on homo?	- Gejem?
189	2b	Carrie, we're fine. Everything's fine. Smith is not gay .	Carrie, kaikki on hyvin. Smith ei ole homo.	Wszystko jest w porządku. Mamy się dobrze. Smith nie jest gejem.	Meillä on kaikki hyvin, Smith ei ole homo.	Poradźmy sobie. A Smith nie jest gejem.
190	2b	I can't believe Smith Jerrod is gay .	En voi uskoa, että Smith Jerrod on homo.	Nie mogę uwierzyć, że Smith Jerrod jest gejem.	Hänkin on homo.	Szkoda, że jest gejem.
191	2b	No one that good-looking is straight . He was dating Samantha Jones.	- Niin hyvännäköiset eivät ole heteroja. - Hän tapaili Samantha Jonesia.	- Nie ma tak przystojnych heteryków. - Był z Samantha Jones.	- Ei niin komea mies voi olla hetsku. - Hän seurustelee Samantha Jonesin kanssa	- Był zbyt przystojny. - Chodził z Samantha Jones.
192	2a	I thought she had the hottest sex life in New York.	Luulin, että hänen seksielämänsä oli New Yorkin kuumiin.	Myślałam, że ta kobieta ma najgorętszy seks w Nowym Jorku.	Olen kadehtinut sen naisen seksielämää...	Seksmaszyna okazała się zwykłą atrapą.
193	2b	It turns out she's just a fag hag .	Hän onkin vain homon akka.	Okazuje się, że to zwykła ciotolubka.	...mutta muijahan on pelkkä homoemo.	(yhdistetty edelliseen)
194	2b	At least people know you. ``Unidentified older gay gentleman ``.	Ainakin sinut tunnetaan. „Tuntematon vanhempi homo herrasmies.”	Przynajmniej znają twoje imię, nie: ``Jakiś starszy homoseksualista``.	Sinut sentään tunnistetaan. Tuntematon homomies...	Jesteś rozpoznawalna, w przeciwieństwie do mnie.
195	2b	How can they just assume I'm gay ?	Miten he voivat vain otaksua, että olen homo?	Jak mogą zakładać, że jestem gejem?	Miten voidaan noin vain olettaa, että olen homo?	Skąd wiedzieli, że jestem gejem?
196	2b	I almost didn't show my face. Fag hag .	Olin jättää tulematta. Homon akka.	O mało co nie zostałam w domu. "Ciotolubka".	Homoemo...	(ohitettu!)
197	2a	There go years of fucking everything that walks.	Nain vuosikaudet kaikkea kävelevää - ihan turhaan.	Całe lata pieprzenia wszystkiego co popadnie zmarnowane.	Vaikka nain vuosikaudet kaikkea mikä liikkui.	Nie skadrowali mnie. Tyle lat pieprzenia na marne.
198	2b	I can't have cancer and be a fag hag .	Syöpä ja homon akka on jo liikaa.	Nie mogę mieć raka i być ciotolubką.	En voi olla sekä syöpäpotilas että homoemo.	Nazwały mnie atrapą.
199	2b	Am I your ``unidentified gay friend ``?	Olenko "tuntematon homoystäväsi"?	- A ja to ``przyjaciół homoseksualista``?	Olenko tuntematon homoystäväsi?	Ty też się mnie wstydzisz?
200	2b	This was not the type of blow job I hoped for.	En minä tällaista hoitoa toivonut.	Nie chodziło mi o takie dmuchanie.	Olin ajatellut vähän toisenlaista puuhaa tälle päivälle.	Nie o takie dmuchanie mi chodziło.
201	2b	With all these faggy dogs , you'd think	Luulisi, että näiden hinttikoirien	Czy wśród tylu pedalskich piesków	Täältä hinttimäisten pikkupiskien keskeltä	Sądziłem, że w takim miejscu poznam przynajmniej
202	2b	there'd be one circuit-muscle gay .	kanssa olisi edes yksi lihaksikas homo.	nie ma jednego muskularnego pedała?	luulisi löytyvän yksi homo lihaskimppu.	jednego geja.
203	2b	Nothing but boxy thick-legged ladies and tweedy old queens .	Pelkkiä paksujalkaisia naisia ja tiukkapipo-hinttejä.	Same krótkonogie babcie albo stare, napuszone cioty.	Pelkkiä paksupohkeisia tätejä ja vanhoja hinaajia.	Tu są jedynie wychudzone suki.
204	3c	It's a dog. Are you going looking for a teeny tiny tampon ?	Se on koira. Aiotko etsiä sille pikkuruisen tamponin?	To jest pies. Znajdziesz jej miniaturowy tamponik?	Mistä löydät tähän hätään koirien tamponin?	Przecież to psiak! Włóżysz mu maleńki tampon?

205	2a	- Could I get Smith Jerrod's number? - No. I'm fucking him .	- Saisinko Smith Jerrodin numeron? - Et. Minä nain häntä.	- Dasz mi numer do Smitha Jerroda? - Nie. ja się z nim bzykam.	- Voisinko saada Smith Jerrodin puh.numeron? - Minä nain häntä.	- Załatwisz mi numer Jerroda? - Sama go pieprzę.
206	2a	And from dog show to doggy show . - Are You sure? - It worked for Paris Hilton.	Ja koiranäyttelystä koira-asentoon. - Oletko varma? - Se tepsi Paris Hiltoniin.	Tam było tresowanie, tu szykowało się ujeżdżanie. - Jesteś pewna? - Poskutkowało dla Paris Hilton.	Koiranäyttelystä koira-asentoon: - Oletko nyt varma tästä? - Paris Hilton teki saman.	Od pieska do pieska: - Jesteś zdecydowana? - Udało się Paris Hilton, uda się i mnie.
207	2b	I need to set the record straight . Literally.	Minun on oikaistava tämä asia. Oikein todella.	Ma nie być żadnych wątpliwości. Co do orientacji też.	Haluan tehdä asian selväksi.	(omitted)
208	2b	I don't care if people think I'm gay .	Ei haittaa, vaikka minua pidetään homona.	Nie obchodzi mnie, czy ludzie myślą, że jestem gejem.	En välitä, jos minua luullaan homoksi.	Nie obchodzą mnie plotki.
209	2a	"I could fuck you all night long, Samantha Jones."	Voisin naida sinua koko yön, Samantha Jones."	"Möglbym się z tobą pieprzyć całą noc, Samantha Jones."	"Voisin naida sinua läpi yön, Samantha Jones"	Powiedz do kamery: Jesteś niezłą dupą, Samantha Jones, chciałbym Cię rznąć całą noc.
210	3a	The next day, two PR girls got an anonymous Triple-X from FedEx.	Seuraavana päivänä kaksi PR-tyttöä sai nimettömän seksivideon.	I tak dwie młode PR-ówki dostały przesyłkę "Tylko dla dorosłych".	Seuraavana kaksi PR-tyttöä sai pikapostia.	Nazajutrz FedEx dostarczył dwóm smarkulom tajemnicze nagranie.
211	2b	- Elizabeth Taylor got gangbanged ? - God, that's so '80s.	- Elizabeth Taylorko jengiraiskattiin? - Luoja, niin 80-lukumaista.	- Padła ofiarą grupowego seksu? - To było modne w latach 80.	- Elisabeth Taylor joukkopanossa. - Kasarimeininkiä.	- Elisabeth zaliczyła orgię? - Stara szkoła.
212	2a	I could not believe how many dogs she was with .	En voinut uskoa, miten monen uroksen kanssa se oli.	Nie mogłam uwierzyć, ile było na niej psów.	Uroksia oli ties kuinka monta, se oli iljettävää.	Moja dziewczynka zrobiła to ze wszystkimi psami.
213	2a	I could fuck you all night long, Samantha Jones.	Voisin naida sinua koko yön, Samantha Jones.	Möglbym się z tobą pieprzyć całą noc, Samantha Jones.	Voisin naida sinua läpi yön, Samantha Jones.	Niezła z Ciebie dupa, Samantha Jones. Möglbym Cię rznąć całą noc.
214	2b	My maid is using my vibrator .	Sisäkköni käyttää vibraattoriani.	Moja pokojówka używa mojego wibratora.	Palvelija lainailee vibraattoriani.	Pokojówka używa mojego wibratora
215	2b	You shouldn't say "maid" any more. - Or vibrator over dinner.	Ei enää saisi sanoa ""sisäkkö"".- Tai ""vibraattori"" ruokapöydässä.	Nie powinno się mówić "pokojówka". - Ani "wibrator". Przy jedzeniu.	Nykyään ei puhuta palvelijoista - Eikä illallisella vibraattoreista.	Nie nazywaj jej pokojówką.- I nie mów przy kolacji o wibratorze.
216	2b	Maybe in the other republics, people like to share vibrators , but this is America, land of plenty.	Ehkä muissa tasavalloissa käytetään yhteisiä vibraattoreja, mutta tämä on Amerikka, runsauden maa.	Może w innych krajach ludzie pożyczają sobie wibratory, ale to jest Ameryka, kraj miodem płynący.	Dominikaanisessa tasavallassa ehkä lainaillaan vibraattoreita mutta Amerikka on yltäkylläisyyden maa.	Może na Dominikanie ludzie dzielą się wibratorami, ale żyjemy w Ameryce.
217	2b	You could have a lawsuit on your hands. - Breaking and vibrating ?	Siitä voi saada syytteen niskaansa. - Vibraattorimurrosta?	Mogłabyś ją pozwać. - O co? Włamanie i wibrowanie?	Voit nostaa syytteen. - Laittomasta vibratoinnistako?	Mogłabyś wytoczyć jej proces. - O włamanie i wkładanie?
218	2a	- As long as it's not entering .	- Kunhan se vain jää siihen.	- Oby tylko nie wkładanie.	- Kunhan ei penetroinnista.	- Może nie włożyła.
219	2a	It might have been her first time but it was with at least eight dogs .	Se saattoi olla ensi kerta, mutta se oli ainakin 8 koiran kanssa.	Może to był jej pierwszy raz, ale zrobiła to z ośmioma psami.	Uroksia oli ainakin kahdeksan.	Urodzi conajmniej osiem szczeniaków.

220	3b	Lexi Featherston was a legendary New York party girl. who always made page 6 because of her bar-hopping and bed-hopping .	Lexi Featherston oli legendaarinen New Yorkin juhlija, joka pääsi aina juorusivuille baari- ja sänkyseikkailujensa takia.	Lexi Featherston była legendarną nowojorską imprezowiczką, o której imprezowych i łóżkowych przygodach pisano na 6. stronie gazety.	Lexi Featherston oli New Yorkin legendaarisia bilehileitä jonka ryypiskely ja miessuhteet päättyivät aina otsikoihin.	Lexi Featherston była legendarną imprezowiczką. Brukowce rozpisywały się o jej wyczynach w knajpach (?) i kochankach.
221	1b	Oh, I'm gonna miss you, you cunt .	Voi, minun tulee sinua ikävä, senkin pillu.	Będzie mi ciebie brakowało, dziwko.	Sinua tulee ikävä, senkin horo.	Będę tęsknić, Ty zdiro.
222	1b	Wow. Even `` cunt `` didn't stop her.	Edes ""pillu"" ei pidätellyt häntä.	Tej nawet ``dziwka`` nie powstrzyma.	Horokaan ei estänyt häntä.	Nie działa na nią nawet zdzira.
223	3b	The only place this is going is Loverville .	Aiomme olla vain rakastavaisia.	Jedynym miejscem, do którego się z nim wybieram, to Kochankowo.	Olen matkalla Rakastajalaan.	Chodzi tylko o łóżko.
224	3b	I took the express elevator to Loverville.	...otin pikahissin rakastajani luo.	...wsiadłam w szybką windę do Kochankowa.	...nousin pikahissillä Rakastajalaan.	...pojechałam windą do nieba.
225	3b	My Russian may have been shaky, but I discovered I spoke Lover very well.	Venäjäntaitoni ovat hatarat, mutta rakkauden kieltä puhun sujuvasti.	Po rosyjsku mówiłam może słabo, ale językiem miłości posługiwałam się dość płynnie.	Osasin venäjää huonosti, mutta rakastajaa puhuin sitäkin paremmin.	Wprawdzie po rosyjsku mówiłam tragicznie, ale w łóżku dogadywalismy się znakomicie.
226	3b	Turns out I'd found a sweet bed and breakfast in Loverville .	Löysin rakkauden kylästä mukavan peti ja puuro -paikan.	Okazało się, że Kochankowo to przytulny hotel ze śniadaniem.	Löysin mukavan aamiaismajoituksen Rakastajalasta.	Po upojnej nocy, kochanek zrobił mi śniadanie.
227	3b	It was at that moment I realized I wasn't really comfortable in Loverville .	Minä tajusin, etten viihtynyt rakastajan roolissani.	Wtedy zdałam sobie sprawę, że nie czuję się w Kochankowie swojo	En tuntenut oloani kotoisaksi Rakastajalassa.	Zrozumiałam, że nie czuję się komfortowo w tej sytuacji.
228	3b	Ladies, I'm taking a lover .	Otan itselleni rakastajan.	Drogie panie, znalazłam sobie kochanka.	Aion ottaa rakastajan	Znalazłam kochanka.
229	3b	Yes. A lover .	Kyllä. Rakastajan.	Tak. Kochanka.	Rakastajan. Aleksandr Petrovskyn.	*ohitettu* (Powtórz to. Aleksandr Petrovsky)
230	3b	That and the fact I'm not lover-ready .	En ole valmis vielä.	Poza tym nie jestem całkiem gotowa.	Enkä ole valmis rakastajaa varten.	Poza tym, nie jestem gotowa.
231	3b	He is in his lover-perfect early fifties.	Hän on vähän päälle 50.	Jest w idealnym dla kochanka wieku, lekko po pięćdziesiątce.	Rakastajani on sopivassa viidenkymppin iässä.	Niedawno skończył 50 lat.
232	3b	Not boyfriend, lover .	Rakastajan.	Nie chłopaka. Kochanka.	Rakastajan.	Nie chłopaka. Kochanka.
233	3b	Uncomfortable with my taking a lover ?	Vaivaako se sinua?	Coś nie tak w związku z kochankiem?	Paheksutko, kun otan rakastajan?	Drażni Cię, że mam kochanka?
234	3b	Maybe he could be more than a lover .	Hän voisi olla enemmänkin.	Może będzie więcej, niż kochankiem.	Ehkä hän voisi olla enemmänkin	Może stanie się kimś więcej?
235	3b	Getting something for your new lover ?	Etkö osta tuoksua rakastajallesi?	Kupujesz coś dla kochanka?	Etkö osta uutta tuoksua rakastajaasi varten?	Nie kupisz sobie nowych perfum?

FINNISH ABSTRACT

SUOMENKIELINEN LYHENNELMÄ (laajuus 8 sivua)

Laura Päivikki Sobon

Honey, wake up and smell the KY! Study on censorship of sexual references based on Finnish and Polish audiovisual translations of Sex And The City

Kulta, herää ja haista liukastetta! Tutkimus seksuaalisanaston sensuurista Suomessa ja Puolassa Sinkkuelämää-sarjan audiovisuaalisten käännösten pohjalta

Tämä pro gradu -tutkielma käsittelee seksuaalisen sanaston kääntämistä audiovisuaalisissa käännöksissä. Seksuaalisanastoa esiintyy nykypäivänä lukuisissa TV-sarjoissa ja elokuvissa, ja se onkin mielenkiintoinen tutkimusaihe sekä kielitieteellisestä että yhteiskunnallisesta näkökulmasta. Allanin ja Burridgen (2006:144) mukaan, kieli jota käytetään seksuaalisesta toiminnasta puhuttaessa perustuu pitkälti sanaleikkeihin ja kuvaannolliseen kielenkäyttöön, mikä tekee tällaisen kielen kääntämisestä erittäin haastavaa. Lisäksi, muiden tabusanojen lailla myös seksuaalisanastoon liittyy erilaisia kulttuurisidonnaisia moraalikäsityksiä, jotka voivat vaikuttaa käännösten sisältöön

esimerkiksi sensuurin muodossa. Aiheen valikoitumiseen vaikutti myös se, ettei seksuaalisanaston AV-kääntämistä ole Suomessa tähän asti tutkittu itsenäisenä aiheena. Tabusanoja on tutkittu joko yleisenä ryhmänä (Hautala 2002), tai keskittyen kirosanojen (Venäläinen 1992, Räisänen 2010) tai loukkausten (Kuukka 2007) kääntämiseen.

Tutkielman tarkoituksena on selvittää, miten seksuaalista sanastoa käännetään Suomessa ja Puolassa, ja etenkin onko sitä merkittävästi lievennetty tai karsittu aineistoon kuuluvissa AV-käännöksissä. Puola otettiin mukaan tutkimukseen koska se tarjoaa mielenkiintoisen vertauskohteen Suomelle: maat sijaitsevat maantieteellisesti melko lähellä toisiaan ja molemmat kuuluvat Euroopan Unioniin, mutta kulttuurisesti Puola on selkeästi Suomea uskonnollisempi ja konservatiivisempi maa, jossa katolilaisella kirkolla on edelleen vahva vaikutus maallisiin asioihin. Puolalla on myös pitkät perinteet sensuurinkäytössä ja kulttuuriin liittyviä sensuurinkäyttötapauksia tulee ilmi vielä tänä päivänäkin. Vertailemalla kääntämisen käytäntöjä kahdessa eri maassa ja kulttuurissa saadaan arvokasta kulttuuritietoa kääntäjien toiminnan pohjalle. Tietoa kääntäjien toiminnan perusteista tarvitaan, sillä AV-kääntäminen on nuori mutta vahvasti kasvava ala, eikä koottua tietoa AV-kääntämisen sensuurista ole toistaiseksi ollut saatavilla.

Tutkimuksen aineisto koostuu amerikkalaisen *Sinkkuelämää* -TV-sarjan kuudennen tuotantokauden 16 jaksosta, ja niiden neljästä AV-käännöksestä: suomenkielisestä TV-tekstityksestä, jota esitettiin mainoskanava Nelosella, suomenkielisestä DVD-tekstityksestä, puolankielisestä DVD-tekstityksestä, sekä puolankielisestä voice-over -

versiosta, jota esitettiin maksullisella HBO Comedy TV-kanavalla. *Sinkkuelämää* soveltuu hyvin kyseisen tutkimusaiheen aineistoksi, sillä sarjassa käsitellään pääasiassa seksiin ja parisuhteisiin liittyviä aiheita ja se tarjoaa siten runsaasti seksuaalisia viittauksia tutkittavaksi.

Tutkielmassa tarkastellaan, minkälaisia käännösstrategioita seksuaalisanaston kääntämiseen on käytetty kummassakin maassa ja kummassakin mediassa. Täten tutkielmassa on siis kaksi eri ulottuvuutta: Puola vastaan Suomi ja televisio vastaan DVD, sekä näiden ulottuvuuksien yhtymäkohdat. Ensimmäisenä hypoteesina on että seksuaalista sanastoa ei ole merkittävästi lievennetty tai vähennetty sarjan suomalaisissa ruututeksteissä, eikä varsinkaan DVD-tekstityksessä, sillä DVD-julkaisut on suunnattu paljon pienemmälle katsojakunnalle kuin televisiossa esitettävät ohjelmat, eikä niitä siten ole tarvetta suojata esimerkiksi lapsikatsojilta.

Toinen hypoteesi on, että koska Puola on oletettavasti Suomea konservatiivisempi maa, seksuaalisanastoa on lievennetty tai poistettu sarjan puolankielisissä käännöksissä, ja erityisesti televisiossa esitetyssä voice-over –versiossa, enemmän kuin suomenkielisissä AV-käännöksissä. Tätä hypoteesia tukee myös Delia Chiron (2007) tekemä tutkimus *Sinkkuelämää*-sarjan italiankielisestä televisiodubbauksesta. Chiron mukaan sarjassa esiintyvää seksuaalisanastoa oli lievennetty huomattavasti italialaisessa dubbauksessa, ja Chiron haastatteleva dubbausohjaaja ja AV-kääntäjä vahvistivat että sekä tarkoituksellista itsesensuuria että käännöksen toimeksiantavalta televisioyhtiöltä tulevaa

ulkoista sensuuria harjoitetaan Italiassa AV-käännösten yhteydessä. Koska Puola on Italian tavoin katolilainen maa ja koska molemmat käyttävät auditiivista kääntämistapaa sarjan kääntämiseen, on syytä olettaa että tämän tutkimuksen tulokset Puolan osalta vastaavat Italiaa koskevan tutkimuksen löydöksiä.

Koska tarkoituksellisen sensuurin olemassaolosta on vaikea saada varmaa tietoa ilman kääntäjähaastatteluja, jotka jäävät tämän tutkielman ulkopuolelle, tutkielmassa keskitytään siihen, mitä on mahdollista päätellä aineistosta kvantitatiivisen ja kvalitatiivisen analyysin avulla. Analyysissä pyritään vastaamaan kysymyksiin siitä, miten seksuaalisanastoa on käännetty, miten paljon ja minkälaisia sanoja on käännetty tai jätetty kääntämättä, ja miten erilaiset käännösratkaisut vaikuttavat kohdetekstiin.

Aineistosta löytyneiden tapausten luokitteluun käytetään kahta luokitusta, jotka kehitettiin tätä tutkimusta varten. Tapaukset luokitellaan ensin niiden kääntämiseen käytettyjen käännösstrategioiden perusteella. Strategialuokittelu perustuu Ritva Leppihalmeen (2007) paikallisten käännösstrategioiden luokitteluun, joskin sitä muokattiin vastaamaan paremmin sensuurin tutkimisen tarpeita. Tutkimuksessa käytetyt käännösstrategiat ovat suora käännös, lievennetty käännös ja voimistettu käännös. Poistosta ei tehty omaa kategoriaansa, sillä tapaukset jotka on jätetty kääntämättä kokonaan lasketaan lievennettyihin käännöksiin.

Tämän jälkeen tapaukset jaetaan ryhmiin niiden merkityksen perusteella. Semanttinen luokittelu luotiin Chiaron (2007) käyttämän luokittelun pohjalta, sillä tutkimuksilla oli

paljon yhtäläisyyksiä. Osa Chiaron käyttämistä luokista säilytettiin ja luokitteluun lisättiin joitain uusia luokkia, joiden avulla saadaan yksityiskohtaisempaa tietoa siitä, mitkä seksuaalisuuteen liittyvistä ilmiöistä ovat enemmän ja mitkä vähemmän tabuja Puolassa ja Suomessa. Tässä tutkimuksessa käytetty semanttinen luokittelu koostuu seuraavista luokista: 1. Viittaukset sukupuolielimiin – 1a) miesten sukupuolielimet, 1b) naisten sukupuolielimet; 2. Viittaukset seksuaaliseen toimintaan – 2a) sukupuoliyhdyntä, 2b) muut seksuaalikäytännöt; 3. Viittaukset seksiin ja yhteiskuntaan – 3a) prostituutio ja pornoteollisuus, 3b) avioliiton ulkopuolinen seksi ja suhteet, 3c) seksuaaliterveys, 3d) muut tapaukset.

Aineisto sisältää kaiken kaikkiaan 235 seksuaalisanaa tai -viitettä. Analysoitavia käännöksiä oli siis 940 (235 kussakin versiossa). Selvästi yleisin käännösstrategia kaikissa neljässä versiossa oli suora käännös. Sitä oli käytetty 65.1 – 81.3 prosentissa tapauksista, versiosta riippuen. Suorien käännösten osuus oli suurin suomalaisessa TV-käännöksessä ja pienin puolalaisessa TV-käännöksessä. Toiseksi yleisin strategia oli lievennetty käännös, jonka osuus oli 14.0 – 32.3 prosenttia tapauksista. Vähiten käytetty oli voimistettu käännös, jonka avulla oli käännetty vain 1.3 – 4.7 prosenttia tapauksista. Alle puolet tapauksista oli käännetty suoraan samanaikaisesti kaikissa versioissa. Versiot olivat vielä vähemmän yhteneväisiä lievennettyjen käännösten suhteen: tätä strategiaa oli käytetty yhtä aikaa vain kuudessa tapauksessa. Aineistossa ei sen sijaan ollut yhtään tapausta, joka olisi voimistettu kaikissa neljässä versiossa.

Tutkimuksen tulokset vahvistivat ensimmäisen hypoteesin. Yhteenlasketuista tuloksista käy ilmi, että suomalaisissa AV-käännöksissä oli enemmän suoria käännöksiä (380/470 vs 343/470) ja vähemmän lievennettyjä käännöksiä (72/470 vs 118/470) kuin puolalaisissa käännöksissä. Tulos on tilastollisesti erittäin merkitsevä.

Toinen hypoteesi piti myös paikkansa, mikäli katsotaan yhteenlaskettuja tuloksia. DVD-versioissa oli enemmän suoria käännöksiä (379/470) kuin TV-versioissa (344/470), ja myös vähemmän lievennettyjä viitteitä (81/470) kuin TV-versioissa (109/470). Tulos on tilastollisesti merkitsevä. Tämän hypoteesin yhteydessä tulivat kuitenkin esille maiden väliset erot, sillä hypoteesi piti paikkansa Puolassa, muttei Suomessa. Puolassa medioiden välillä oli huomattava ero ja DVD oli selkeästi liberaalimpi seksuaalisanaston suhteen kuin TV. Puolan sisäinen tulos on tilastollisesti erittäin merkitsevä.

Suomessa erot olivat pienet ja TV oli yllättäen liberaalimpi media kuin DVD. Suomen tapauksessa tulos ei ollut tilastollisesti merkitsevä. Tulosta voidaan kuitenkin pitää uskottavana, sillä se vastaa Hautalan (2002) loukkauksia ja Räisäsen (2010) kirosanojen kääntämisstrategioita koskevien tutkimusten tuloksia. Täten voidaan päätellä, että seksuaalisten viittausten kääntämiseen suhtaudutaan suomalaisissa AV-käännöksissä suurinpiirtein samalla tavalla kuin muihinkin tabusanoihin.

Mitä tulee semanttisiin luokkiin, aineistossa oli selkeästi eniten tapauksia luokasta 2a - viittaukset sukupuoliyhdyntään. Toiseksi yleisimpiä olivat viittaukset muihin seksuaalikäytäntöihin (2b). Vähiten esiintyi viittauksia luokasta 1b – naisten

sukupuolielimet ja seksuaaliterveyteen liittyviä viittauksia (3c). Eniten lievennetyt viittaukset vaihtelivat eri versioissa. Mikään semanttisista luokista ei ollut eniten lievennetty luokka kaikissa neljässä versiossa. Prosentuaalisesti eniten oli lievennetty viittauksia naisten sukupuolielimiin (PL DVD ja FI TV) ja viittauksia avioliiton ulkopuoliseen seksiin ja suhteisiin (FI DVD ja PL TV). Sen sijaan kaikissa versioissa prosentuaalisesti vähiten lievennetty luokka oli 3c, viittaukset seksuaaliterveyteen. Toiseksi vähiten lievennetty luokka oli miesten sukupuolielimet.

Kolmatta strategiaa, voimistettua käännöstä, oli käytetty aineistossa erittäin harvoin. Neljää viittausluokkaa ei oltu voimistettu kertaakaan ja voimistamisen prosentuaalisesti isoin osuus oli vain 12.5 prosenttia (luokka 3c versioissa FI DVD ja FI TV). Aineistosta käy ilmi, että eniten voimistettuja käännöksiä oli FI TV versiossa ja vähiten PL DVD versiossa. Voimistamisen rooli oli määrällisesti niin marginaalinen, ettei tämänhetkisen aineiston perusteella voida vetää pitäviä johtopäätöksiä sen käyttöön johtavista syistä, varsinkaan ilman kääntäjähaastatteluja jotka antaisivat luotettavaa tietoa todellisista syistä.

Kvalitatiivisen analyysin perusteella voidaan päätellä, että voimistamista käytettiin pääasiassa kahteen tarkoitukseen: selventämään ja suorentamaan viittauksia – esimerkiksi tapauksissa joissa alkuperäinen viittaus oli ilmaistu kiertoilmaisulla, ja/tai korostamaan kohtausten ilmapiiriä tai henkilöiden tunteita tai asennetta, esimerkiksi kohtausten tapauksissa joissa esiintyi kiivasta riitelyä. Sen sijaan aineisto ei anna yksipuolista vastausta siihen,

käytettiinkö voimistamista Suomessa ja Puolassa kompensationsa, kuten Chiaro (2007) totesi tehtävän Italiassa.

Mahdollisia syitä lievennetyille käännöksille löytyi aineiston perusteella enemmänkin. Etenkin puolalaisen TV-version kohdalla suuri lievennetyjen viittausten määrä (verrattuna muihin versioihin) ja lukuisten itsestäänselvien viittausten ”väärinkääntäminen” antaa aiheita epäillä tahallista sensurointia – ulkoista ja/tai kääntäjien itsensä harjoittamaa. Tosin täytyy muistaa, että itsesensuuria ilmenee jossakin määrin kaikkialla, sillä kääntäjiä usein neuvotaan varomaan tabusanojen ja slangin käyttöä AV-käännöksissä – myös Suomessa (Vertanen 2004:132–138).

Tämän lisäksi on otettava huomioon myös audiovisuaaliseen kääntämiseen liittyvät tekniset rajoitukset, eli tiivistämisen pakko aika- ja tilarajoitusten takia. Tähän samaan liittyy toiston välttäminen, jota oli myös havaittavissa tutkimusmateriaalissa. Osa lievennyksistä voi myös johtua väärinkäsityksistä, sillä monet aineistossa esiintyvistä seksuaalisista viittauksista sisälsivät slangisanoja tai kulttuurisidonnaisia viittauksia. Toisaalta, kuten Scandura (2004) toteaa, viittausten väärinkääntäminen joka johtuu idiomien, seksuaalisten sivumerkitysten tai slangin, ym. tietämättömyydestä voidaan myös luokitella itsesensuuriksi.

Yksi itsestäänselvistä selityksistä ovat kielelliset erot. Kaikkia viittauksia ei välttämättä ollut edes mahdollista kääntää, jos viittaus esimerkiksi perustui sanaleikkiin, alliteraatioon tai sanontaan, jolla oli lähdekielellä kaksoismerkitys, tai jonka saattoi lähdekielellä

muokata niin että se sisälsi seksuaalisen viittauksen. Toisaalta, monet näistä tapauksista olisi saattanut olla ratkaistavissa ilman lieventämisen pakkoa, jos kääntäjillä olisi ollut tarpeeksi aikaa ja motivaatiota pohtia sopivia ratkaisuja. Paljon puhutut AV-kääntäjien huonot työskentelyolot ja -ehdot voivat siis myös osaltaan johtaa lievennyksiin.

Vaikka on itsestäänselvää, että kaikkia vulgarismeja ei ole mahdollista sisällyttää audiovisuaalisiin käännöksiin ja että tabuilmaisujen ei kuulu olla itsetarkoitus, kääntäjien tulisi olla tietoisia valinnoistaan ja siitä, miten monella tavoin lievennykset vaikuttavat käännökseen. Kuten tutkimusmateriaalista käy ilmi, lieventäminen saattaa muuttaa koko sarjan ja sen hahmojen tyyliä ja poistaa osan sarjan huumorista, joka perustuu pitkälti sanaleikkeihin, toistoihin, vihjauksiin ja vähättelyyn, jotka puolestaan liittyvät usein seksuaalisiin viittauksiin. Runsaat tai karkeat eroavaisuudet alkuperäisen ja käännetyn version saattavat ärsyttävää katsojaa, etenkin jos hän ymmärtää lähdekieltä, ja ne rikkovat katsojan illuusion siitä, että hän ymmärtää alkuperäistä kieltä ja on siten tasavertainen lähdekielisen version katsojien kanssa.